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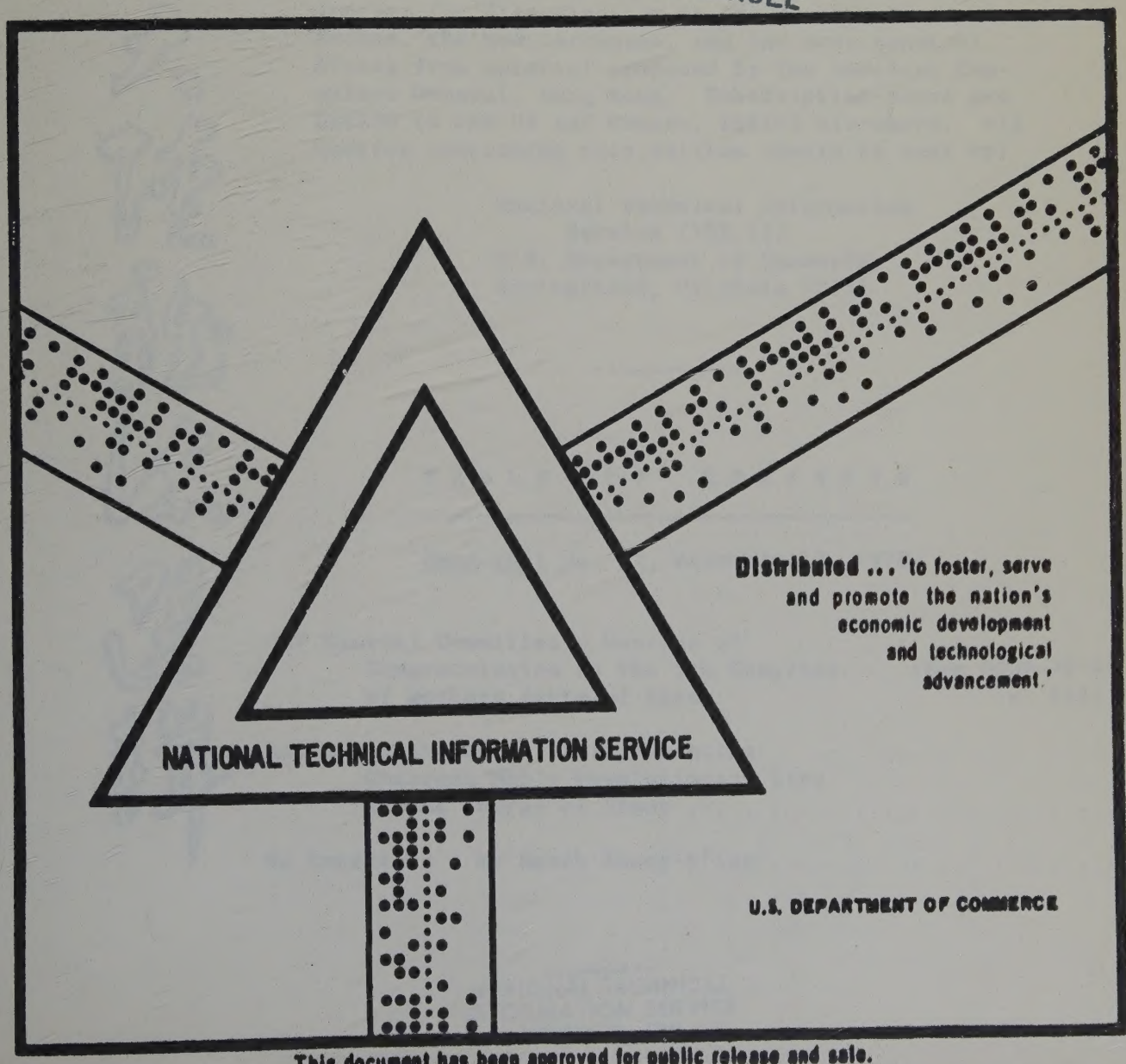
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Raise Consciousness of Implementing Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line in the Course of Study

by

Our Own Commentator

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

At present, cadres at various levels in the country are enthusiastically responding to the call of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee by conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's philosophical writings. Many comrades take the lead in study and in reporting how they have applied them. They closely link study with their practice in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and consciously remold their world outlook with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. At the same time, they use the basic view of dialectical and historical materialism to carry out investigation and study, sum up experience, and solve problems arising in practical struggle, vigorously pushing all kinds of work forward.

In order to enable our leading cadres to gradually deepen their study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works, it is necessary to combine study with raising consciousness in the struggle between the two lines and make efforts to raise consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in study. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, it is imperative to uphold the proletarian dictatorship and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to "unite to win still greater victories."

In the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," Chairman Mao stresses that Marxism develops through struggle. "Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well." The birth and development of Marxist philosophy is a history of fierce struggle by Marxist philosophy against all kinds of opportunist and revisionist lines and of its triumph over them. The sharp struggle between the two camps in philosophy always reflects the struggle between the two lines in politics and serves the struggle between political lines. Our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant writings, which have developed Marxist-Leninist philosophy, have likewise been produced in the fierce struggle between the two classes and two lines.

The articles "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," written by Chairman Mao during the period of the new democratic revolution, made a most thorough criticism of the "left" and Right opportunist lines of Wang Ming and Ch'en Tu-hsiu ideologically and philosophically. These two great works philosophically and incisively sum up the historical lessons of the struggle between the two lines, and penetratingly criticize the idealist and metaphysical world outlook and methodology which are the ideological basis of Right opportunism and "Left" adventurism. Thus, Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxist-Leninist materialism and dialectics.

During the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao in 1957 wrote the two great articles "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," summing up in an all-round way the positive and negative historical lessons internationally of the dictatorship of the proletariat and thoroughly criticizing, politically and philosophically, the modern revisionist trend in the international communist movement and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. Countering Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacy that "in our country the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled," Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") "In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Chairman Mao stated that although socialist transformation has been completed in the main with respect to the ownership of the means of production, there are still contradictions, classes and class struggle and the proletariat must continue to make revolution. This scientific thesis gave the Party and the people the orientation for going forward.

In 1963, shortly after Liu Shao-ch'i had his idealist hogwash "Self-Cultivation" republished, Chairman Mao wrote the famous work "Where Do Men's Correct Ideas Come From?" and other documents to counter Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary plot of opposing proletarian revolutionary practice and vainly attempting to restore a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In these documents, Chairman Mao made a thorough criticism of the anti-Marxist bourgeois idealism and metaphysics of Liu Shao-ch'i and his agent in philosophical circles Yang Hsien-chen, and set forth for the whole Party the fighting task of studying the dialectical materialist theory of cognition.

In the course of leading the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has issued many important articles and instructions, criticizing in detail and from different angles Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line which is Right or "Left" in form but Right in essence, and deepening the education of the Party and the people in the proletarian world outlook, i.e., education in dialectical and historical materialism.

It is in this protracted struggle against "Left" and Right opportunist lines within the Party and against the revisionist ideological trend internationally that Chairman Mao wrote these and many other works in which he inherited, defended and developed the dialectical and historical materialism of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. We must continue to deepen the revolutionary mass criticism in the light of the Party's history and in relation to the struggle between the two lines within the Party before we can comprehend the essence of dialectical and historical materialism and truly master Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas.

In "On Contradiction," our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us:

"To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization." Materialist dialectics holds that the development and change of things is primarily determined by internal factors and that it is through internal factors that external factors exercise their function. For a revolutionary political party, the question of line is a fundamental one. If the line is correct, the revolutionary forces can grow from small to big, from weak to strong, defeat any enemy and advance from victory to victory. The victory and development of China's revolution have been achieved through the constant triumph of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over "Left" and Right opportunist lines in the Party, especially by smashing the three renegade cliques of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i. Whenever a Right or "Left" opportunist line appeared, the revolution met with setbacks. Whenever Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line won a victory and the opportunist line was liquidated, the revolution advanced.

Historical experience proves that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the lifeline of our Party and the fundamental guarantee for the victory of the revolution. To implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is to have everything; to depart from it is to lose everything. This is true for the whole country as well as for the work of one department or one unit.

Today, in studying Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking and arming our minds with dialectical and historical materialism, we gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his principles and policies, further eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, firmly and constantly advance in the direction Chairman Mao indicates, and better fulfill the fighting tasks set by the 9th Party Congress.

In "On Practice," Chairman Mao tells us: "The reason dialectical materialism is a universal truth is that no one can escape from its scope in his practice." All of Chairman Mao's brilliant works, revolutionary line and policies and principles scientifically sum up the practical experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, reflect the objective laws of social development and are permeated with dialectical materialism. If we want to understand them deeply and carry them out correctly in our actions, we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, grasp the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge and have faith in the masses, rely on them and have close ties with them; make deep investigations and study of objective things, overcome subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality, and get rid of conceit and complacency and other ideological burden.

Chairman Mao teaches: "Rational knowledge depends upon perceptual knowledge and perceptual knowledge remains to be developed into rational knowledge--this is the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge." ("On Practice") This is the fundamental way for people to know things. If we are divorced from the people's revolutionary practice and our knowledge fails to develop as the practice of the people's struggle advances, we cannot in fact grasp the essence of Chairman Mao's proletarian

revolutionary line. But, if we do not guide our own practice with Mao Tsetung thought conscientiously and raise concrete experience to the level of rational knowledge, we can neither know the inherent laws of the development of things, nor grasp the entire objective process thoroughly. Once the changes in circumstances go beyond one's experience, one may run counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies.

Although some comrades in their practice often encounter problems of the struggle between the two lines, they nevertheless cannot correctly grasp the question of line or the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines as the central link to guide their work in every field. So far as their understanding is concerned, this is because they have run counter to the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. Therefore, the fundamental question in raising one's consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is to conscientiously study the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, bring one's subjective knowledge into conformity with objective reality, and eliminate blindness.

The historical experience of class struggle tells us that the line people carry out is decided by their world outlook. "The world outlook of communism is dialectical and historical materialism." ("On New Democracy") When we study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, we must link our study with the practical struggle of the three great revolutionary movements, particularly with the experience and lessons of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and remold our own world outlook with dialectical and historical materialism. In this way, whatever post we hold on any front or whatever the conditions of class struggle, we can firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, distinguish genuine Marxism from pseudo-Marxism, materialism from idealism and dialectics from metaphysics, discern and resist erroneous trends and ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's correct line and resolutely draw a line of demarcation between them. "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles." ("On Coalition Government") Provided we firmly grasp this "key link," study and apply Mao Tsetung thought well and raise our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, we can, in the excellent situation at home and abroad, continue to advance along the line of the 9th Party Congress, carry out the task of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously, and win still greater victories in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

* * *

Be Conscious

by

Hsueh Sheng-p'ing (薛生平)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

Why is there a special need for leading cadres to take the lead in studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking well? From their positive and negative experiences and lessons, many comrades have deeply realized that they can consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat only if they study Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking well.

Leading cadres hold power on behalf of the proletariat. The fundamental question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is the carrying out of a correct line. The historical experience of our Party shows that we must have a correct line to make revolution, and that when the line is correct we have everything, but when the line is wrong we lose everything. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the lifeline of our Party. Whether or not we carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line consciously is a major question bearing on our ability or inability to further consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking is the theoretical foundation of his revolutionary line. To strengthen our consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must truly grasp his philosophical thinking.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the Marxist view, theory is important. Its importance is fully manifested in one sentence spoken by Lenin: 'Without revolutionary theory, there would be no revolutionary movement.' Nevertheless, the Marxist stress on theory is precisely and only because it is a guide to action." ("On Practice") The reason certain comrades of ours sank into blindness is inseparably linked to the erroneous tendency to neglect the guiding role of revolutionary theory to reactionary action.

Making revolution by relying only on simple class sentiment is a manifestation of blindness into which certain comrades sank. Simple class sentiment is an extremely precious class quality for accepting the Party education and doing work well. However, the class ideology of proletarian consciousness is not produced spontaneously, nor does it grow naturally by reliance on simple class sentiment. We must rely on study and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to remold our world outlook. It would be a mistake to think that with simple class sentiment we can surely have the proletarian world outlook and can do without study and remolding. Relying on simple and spontaneous class sentiment only will not insure that we shall take the stand of Party spirit and policies and always stick to the basic interests of the proletariat under any circumstances. This is because, if we do not grasp the weapon of dialectical and historical materialism, we

cannot distinguish genuine Marxism from false Marxism, cannot make sure the orientation in the event of a storm, cannot separate the right from the wrong in the matter of line, and even would slide down the wrong path. Wouldn't this mean sinking into blindness?

Making revolution by relying only on one's personal experience of work is the second manifestation of blindness into which certain comrades have sunk. Confident that they have a set of old methods for grasping movement and production, they believe that they can cope with their present work with the experience at hand and without study. Having practical work experience is indeed a good thing. A mass of perceptual knowledge and a rich fund of practical experience of struggle provide the basis for obtaining correct knowledge. But, if we stick to our old experience and regard our partial experience as universal truth, we cannot understand the inherent laws of the development of things but will surely make empiricist mistakes. If we seek only to accomplish our work and nothing else, we cannot tackle the new tasks of struggle successfully.

Those comrades who do their work by relying only on their experience may sometimes feel that they cannot keep themselves abreast with the situation and lag behind the masses. Faced with the new things and the revolutionary undertakings of the masses, they always feel constrained and timid, that they are overtaken by events and that they are in a passive position. What can be done to change this blindness into consciousness? Chairman Mao has pointed out long ago: "Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work")

Being content with working busily all day long and "substituting work for study"--this is the third manifestation of the blindness of which certain comrades are guilty. They are so worried about the large amount of work they have to do, their heavy tasks and the shortness of time that they think they should only bury their heads in work because studying is for work anyway. When they have done a thing, they do not sum up the experience. When they are pressed to sum up the experience, they simply shovel the writing task to several "hsiu-ts'ai" [scholars], and submit the report thus produced only to the higher up for perusal.

In studying Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, we have always stressed the need to learn and apply it in struggle. The purpose of learning it is to apply it. However, "substituting work for study" does not mean learning in work. Practice not guided by revolutionary theory must be blind practice. If the tasks are heavy, the time is short, the pressures are great and the contradictions in various respects are many, it precisely shows that it is most essential to use Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking to command our battle and this is the best moment to make living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking in struggle. If we study well, we can grasp the work of today, foresee the work of tomorrow, gain the initiative and obtain "freedom," and we can transform our subjective

world while transforming the objective world. If we do not study Marxist philosophy at a moment when it is most essential to study it, we may sink into blindness in work.

Using Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking to sum up experience is an indispensably vital link for strengthening consciousness and overcoming blindness. Summing up means learning in work; it means a flying leap from matter to spirit. If we practice, we have things to sum up. When we do our work well, we have the experience; when we do our work wrong, we learn the lesson. Without making a scientific summation of the struggle in the preceding period, we cannot have conscious action for the next period. Some comrades think that since they are now doing the same work they have done in the past, it is no longer necessary to use their brains to sum it up. This is a metaphysical view of looking at a problem in a static way. Things are developing. For every struggle we undertake, we undergo a new process of understanding, and work in this sense is creative work and does not represent simple repetition. It is only when we use Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking--this universal truth--as the guide and continue to study and sum up the new experience of struggle that we can make our motion of cognition develop in keeping with the advance of revolutionary practice. This also is an important content of transformation of the subjective world. We cannot do our work well if we neither study nor sum up our experience but only know how to busy ourselves with work all day long.

Relying purely on simple class sentiment and simple experience of work and working busily by "substituting work for study" is far from being compatible with the demands of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the blindness caused thereby poses a serious obstacle to the correct carrying out of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Those comrades guilty of blindness know how the combat orders and instructions are issued by the Party Central Committee without, however, knowing why they are issued. They cannot keep pace with them closely nor can they implement them fully. They serve only as "transit centers" whose business is to pass the orders and instructions down. Under the situation where the revolution is continuing to develop in depth and there are thousands of threads of work, they do not work any less strenuously, but they do not grasp the fundamental. When the masses make their criticisms, these comrades fail to see where their faults rest. If they do not free themselves from such a state of blindness, they are bound to turn to the "Left" or to the Right in the struggle between lines and cannot distinguish the big right from the big wrong; they will suffer a lot from being cheated by false Marxism, and when they willy-nilly take the wrong path, they think they are going the right way. Aren't there enough of such historical lessons?

Chairman Mao says: "There are two kinds of world outlook and methodology: the proletarian world outlook and methodology and the bourgeois world outlook and methodology. These comrades often hold in their hands the bourgeois world outlook and metholodology, but they often forget the proletarian world outlook and methodology." ("The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan") By relying only on simple class sentiment and simple experience of work by busily

"substituting work for study", one is prone to divorce oneself from the proletarian world outlook and methodology and to be influenced by the bourgeois world outlook and methodology. In this way, one cannot have political foresight, cannot have a grasp of the overall process, cannot view in proper perspective the development of things or master the laws of the three major revolutionary struggles, and cannot correctly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. None of the past mistakes made by people in line is separable from their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world outlook. Hence, to raise fundamentally our consciousness of the class struggle, the struggle between the two lines and the continuance of the revolution, we must use Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking to have our world outlook thoroughly remolded. With such transformation, we can have foresight and astuteness as well as a high degree of consciousness.

Leading comrades at all levels are carrying the heavy burden of leading the masses to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. We should eagerly master the ideological weapon of the revolution with a profound sentiment for our great leader Chairman Mao and a lofty sense of responsibility and enterprise toward the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. With the revolutionary backbone forces armed with Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will be carried out more successfully and our Party and state will surely be more vigorous. Comrades, try hard!

(Originally carried in Liao-ning Jih-pao, this article is slightly abridged here.)

* * *

Overcome Blind Faith, Raise Consciousness

by

T'ao Ch'eng-lin (陶成林),
Secretary to the CCP Hulin Hsien Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

Synopsis:

This article attaches weight to explaining the importance of studying in real earnest Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in the struggle between the two lines. It says that one must combine revolutionary enthusiasm with the scientific attitude, sum up experience and guide practice with materialistic dialectics, and consciously transform one's subjective world in the course of transforming one's objective world before one can steadfastly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The first part also explains that the thought of "wiping out the backward branches" once for all and forever is in contravention of the objective laws governing the development of things.

*

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches: "it is necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcoming difficulties, committing fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfillment of our great internationalist duty." ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") This great teaching of Chairman Mao's has pointed out for us the fundamental way to transform completely the world outlook, raise consciousness in the struggle between the two lines and improve the level of work.

The revolutionary leading cadres exercise power on behalf of the proletariat. What line is carried out by the power-holders directly bears on the quality of political power and the success or failure of revolutionary work. The positive and negative experiences and lessons gained and learned in practical work over a number of years have made us deeply understand that in the struggle between the two lines, in order to overcome blind faith and raise our consciousness, we must conscientiously and painstakingly study Chairman Mao's philosophic thought, consciously transform our thought and solidly establish the proletarian world outlook.

Combining Revolutionary Enthusiasm with the Scientific Attitude

Our hsien was the first one to set up a new hsien committee in Heilungkiang province. After the establishment of the new hsien committee,

its leading members and I were rather enthusiastic and full of revolutionary drive. Everybody declared: "For the sake of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and making a success of revolutionary work, everything could be done." We thought in this way we could make our work a success. However, things often went against our wishes. We failed to achieve our work and even deviated from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in quite a number of things.

Following the basic conclusion of Party consolidation and Party building, we resolved to build well the grass-roots Party organizations. We thought at the time that the good and relatively good branches "could hold on for a while," and so long as the backward branches were tackled, Party organizations at the basic level presented no problem. We therefore organized a Mao Tsetung thought propaganda team with almost 100 people and called for "three months of extensive work to wipe out the backward branches." After the lapse of three months, however, some backward branches had their problems resolved but some had not. Meanwhile, because we made one-sided efforts to "wipe out" the backward branches and were slack in the work of consolidating and improving the good and relatively good branches, some of the latter became new backward branches.

We had shown our great determination and devoted no small effort to such work. Why was it that such results had appeared? Chairman Mao taught us: "In departure from concrete analysis, it is not possible to know the characteristics of any contradiction." ("On Contradiction") After making a concrete analysis of the backward branches, we discovered that conditions in the backward branches varied. The problems in some branches were simpler and were easy to resolve. In others they were rather complicated, and because the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines was sharper there, and they were more deeply affected by the pernicious influence of renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist Party-building line, it was imperative to carry out protracted, arduous and careful work. The universal call for resolving problems within three months obviously did not correspond with reality.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Contradictions emerge continuously and are also resolved continuously--this is the law of dialectics governing the development of things." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") "Nothing in this world develops absolutely evenly; we must oppose the theory of even development or the theory of equilibrium." ("On Contradiction") After a study of these teachings of Chairman Mao's, my mind was clearer. I came to understand that the attempt to solve completely the question of building the basic-level Party organizations through resolving the problems of the backward branches is essentially a kind of blind faith in resolving contradictions once for all. The class struggle of the socialist society is protracted, complex and full of twists and turns. Such struggle is inevitably reflected within the Party, and this determines the long-term character of Party building. Meanwhile, the existence and incessant transformation of the advanced, intermediate and backward states constitutes the objective law that remains true ten thousand years afterward. Our original way of thinking had unconsciously betrayed

Chairman Mao's Party-building line and reflected the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist Party-building line based on the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and the "theory of peace within the Party."

With our thinking cleared up, we changed the thesis of "wiping out the backward branches" into "strengthening the ideological construction and organizational construction of the Party, consolidating and developing the first type, improving the second type, and incessantly resolving the problems of the backward branches." Practice showed this thesis was more in correspondence with the laws governing contradictions and struggles within the Party and played a positive role in strengthening the construction of the basic-level Party organizations of our hsien and consolidating and developing the results of Party consolidation and Party building.

This episode made me deeply understand that reliance on revolutionary enthusiasm alone is not enough to carry out correctly Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Revolutionary enthusiasm is important, and there must be revolutionary enthusiasm before there can be revolutionary zeal and positive revolutionary practice. But it is far from adequate to have revolutionary enthusiasm alone. Revolutionary enthusiasm serves only to reflect our subjective wish to succeed in revolutionary work. "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice." ("On Practice") With the objective laws mastered, it is possible to establish revolutionary enthusiasm on the basis of science. Such revolutionary enthusiasm can last and can be correctly brought into play. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line reflects the objective law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only by learning well Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts and combining revolutionary enthusiasm with the scientific attitude can we consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Using Materialistic Dialectics To Sum Up Experience and Guide Practice

In the course of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a question we constantly came across was how to handle correctly our own work experience. Experience is precious. But if the experience of an individual is put in the improper place, and it is thought that work experience alone can be relied upon to make a success of work, then experience would become a burden.

This spring, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "water conservation is the life-blood of agriculture," the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Fuhsing Brigade of the Tungfeng Commune mapped out a plan for building a reservoir in the plain area, and came to discuss it with us in the hope of winning our support. At the time, it occurred to me that according to the experience of Hulin hsien in the construction of water conservation projects over a number of years, those living near the mountains built reservoirs, those living near the rivers built power pumping stations, and those living on the plains drilled mechanized wells.

How could a reservoir be built on the plains? Fearing that this would not justify the labor and money expended, I told them that it would be better for them to go back and drill mechanized wells. The poor and lower-middle peasants disagreed with my view, and on their return, they acted on their own. Later, we went to this brigade to make an investigation on the spot, and discovered that the thinking of the masses was correct.

Now, this so-called plain area is a plain in a relative sense, and it is not flat everywhere. The annual rainfall is not small in Hulin hsien, and a considerable amount of water from rains and snow can be gathered in the low-lying places. Besides, the water table is rather high, and it does not take digging very deep to get to the underground water. After investigating and studying things on the spot, we changed our old view and came to the new conclusion that much could be done by building reservoirs on the plain.

This episode makes me understand that everything must shift with the time, the place and the condition. Should one forget this truth and cling to the old experience, the enthusiasm of the masses would be fettered and the line to achieve lesser, slower, poorer and more expensive results pursued. Conversely, so long as we proceed from the actual conditions of the time and the place and give energetic support to the new things, we can arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and carry out the line that achieves greater, faster, better and more economical results.

With our understanding thus raised, we discussed things together with the Party branch of this brigade and decided to go further in mobilizing the masses to do things on a large scale. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants fought hard for 40 days and completed a reservoir with a capacity for storing 50,000 cubic meters of water on the plain. We opportunely convened an on-the-spot meeting there, thus popularizing their experience and giving a powerful impetus to the mass movement for construction of water conservation projects throughout the hsien. This year, the total earth-work carried out for constructing water conservation projects was equal to the total of the past seven years, thus realizing one mow of irrigated land per capita throughout the hsien. During the severe summer drought that lasted 67 days, the "small, indigenous, mass" water conservation projects brought their enormous power into play. They played an important role in enabling our hsien to reap this year the greatest bumper harvest in history.

This episode teaches me a great lesson and makes us understand that the experience of the individual must be correctly handled. Chairman Mao teaches us: "All true knowledge originates from direct experience." ("On Practice") Ordinarily, we do not part with our own practical experience as we ponder over problems and do things. However, experience cannot take the place of the guiding role of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "Our comrades who are engaged in practical work will also come to grief if they misuse their experience. True, these people are often rich in experience, which is very valuable, but it is very dangerous if they rest content with their own experience. They must realize that their knowledge is mostly perceptual and partial and that they lack rational and comprehensive knowledge; in other words, they lack theory and their knowledge, too, is relatively incomplete. Without

comparatively complete knowledge it is impossible to do revolutionary work well." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") Therefore, mere reliance on experience to do work is undependable. Even the correct part of the experience of an individual is rather localized in character. What is applicable in one place may not be applicable in another place, and what was applicable in the past may no longer be applicable at the present. If one regards one's own one-sided experience as in the absolute and does not accept new things and study the new problems, one would commit empirical mistakes and lead oneself toward the erroneous line. How can we go beyond such localization of the experience of the individual? From practice, we have come to understand deeply that we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts and employ the weapon of materialistic dialectics to sum up continuously our own experience and the experience of the masses--especially the experience of a typical character--so that such experience can rise to become theory in logicality and comprehensiveness for guiding practice. In this way, we also can carry out better Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Consciously Transforming the Subjective World in the Course of Transforming the Objective World

The struggle between the two lines within the Party is, in the final analysis, the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is imperative to wage struggle against the bourgeois world outlook--especially against bourgeois "self" in our own minds. Leading cadres are held responsible for educating the masses, organizing the masses and leading and directing the three great revolutionary struggles. But if they regard themselves only as the motive force of the revolution but not as the object of the revolution, adopt the "one-point theory" toward themselves and affirm everything, they necessarily would grind to a halt along the revolutionary road and gradually depart from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

This year, the situation of the revolution and production grew better and better in our hsien. We were more inclined to take the initiative in various kinds of work, and had been encouraged and commended by the higher level on a number of occasions. Because of this, the feeling of arrogance rose deep in my mind, and the bourgeois "self" reared its head. It struck me that as the No. 1, I had of course a share to play in the success of work in our hsien. My "arrogance" affected other members of the leading body and the basic-level cadres, and some comrades felt priggish because our hsien was the first one to establish the CCP hsien committee and CYL committee in the whole province, and the first one to overfulfill the grain requisitioning task and financial task in the whole administrative district. With the sense of arrogance, our heads turned feverish. We shut our eyes and ears, and our petrified minds blocked the way leading to truth. We could not correctly discern the true look of objective things, were unable to see our shortcomings and the strong points of others, and could not accept new things. At the time of spring plowing, we had some problems in consistently adhering to the policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" and carrying out to the letter the "eight-point charter" for agriculture, but

we failed to see them because of our arrogance. Although we were aware of the problems, yet we did not thoroughly bare the contradictions and solve them in real earnest. The time we considered ourselves as the advanced was precisely the beginning of our lagging behind. At the on-the-spot meeting on farming convened by the revolutionary committee of the administrative district early in April, statistics on progress in agricultural production showed that our hsien had four indices that came last in the whole administrative district. This was the punishment of our "one-point theory" and "arrogance" by dialectics.

In the past, we had criticized the feeling of arrogance on a number of occasions. Why was it not overcome? The masses, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: "The leading comrades of the hsien committee merely criticized us for arrogance, but in the past, your description of achievements was striking and concrete and your description of shortcomings was always terse." The criticism of the masses made us understand that it was imperative to begin with self in opposing "arrogance." We decided at once to launch an open-door rectification campaign, and mobilized the broad revolutionary masses of the whole hsien to expose contradiction and make criticism. I took the lead in making self-criticism, in making a self-examination of my "one-point theory," and in going deep to the root of "arrogance" at the meeting. Because the leadership took the lead, the rectification campaign was better carried out this time, thus discarding the ideological burden of the "advanced" and "the first," overcoming blind faith, strengthening the consciousness in continuing with the revolution, and forcefully gave impetus to work on all fronts in the whole hsien.

The most profound lesson the rectification campaign has taught me this time is that as far as the leading cadres are concerned, if they defend "self" and harbor "arrogance" and do not divide themselves from one into two, they cannot lead very well the masses to adhere consistently to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Vice Chairman Lin points out: "The revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, a success cannot be made of this revolution." In order to revolutionize self, it is imperative to wage struggle incessantly against idealism and metaphysics that interfere with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. One must forever divide self from one into two, adhere to the "two-point theory" but discard the "one-point theory." Only by constantly rejecting one's own erroneous things can one continuously move forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to change the world comprises the fulfillment of the following tasks: to change the objective world and, at the same time, their own subjective world--to change their cognitive ability and change the relations between the subjective and the objective world." ("On Practice") The change of the subjective world and the change of the objective world are closely connected. Only by incessantly changing one's world outlook and resolving the subjective and objective contradictions can one bring into better play one's subjective initiative in the struggle to change the objective world. A good or bad job done in changing the world

outlook determines the high or low consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Looking back, this is the road I have traversed these years: Whenever one pays no attention to the object of the revolution, one is haunted by bourgeois "self", idealism and metaphysics rear their heads, the carrying out of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is affected, and a poor job is done in work. Whenever one regards self as the motive force as well as the object of revolution and exerts utmost effort in changing the world outlook, one can carry out with greater consciousness Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, thus enabling various kinds of work to advance with big strides.

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Strive to Raise Consciousness in the Struggle Between the Two Lines

by

Kuo Chung-yeh (郭中业),
Deputy Secretary to the CCP Committee attached
to the Shanghai Bureau of Textile Industry

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Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It will not do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." This wise instruction tells us that at the time of studying Chairman Mao's philosophic works, it is imperative to emphasize the continued raising of consciousness in the struggle between the two lines and to study them in conjunction with the history of the Party. The press communique of the 9th Congress has clearly pointed out: "Only by understanding the history of the Party is it possible to understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and to understand the greatness of Chairman Mao, the greatness of Mao Tsetung thought and the correctness of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line."

In connection with my participation in the practice of struggle since the revolution, no matter whether the unit or the individual was concerned, whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was carried out, there would be victory and progress in work, and a faster rate of progress and growth would be registered. Conversely, whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was forsaken, setback or failure would be encountered in work and mistakes committed. Consequently, in order to follow closely Chairman Mao to make revolution, it is imperative to study and apply philosophy in the struggle between the two lines, to change consciously the world outlook, and to guide one's own practice with the proletarian world outlook. Only in this way can one distinguish Chairman Mao's revolutionary line from renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and strengthen continuously one's consciousness in consistently adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and general and specific policies.

An orphan from a poor peasant's family, I joined revolutionary work during the war of resistance against Japan in 1941. I was only 16 years old at the time, and although I had a strong class feeling for the Party, yet such feeling was unaffected and was not in the sober state of conscious revolution. During the rectification campaign in 1942, I was taught a profound lesson in the struggle between the two lines, and knew for the first time what was Chairman Mao's revolution line and what was called the "Left" or Right opportunist line. However, despite my preliminary understanding of truth, I had still an arduous course to cover before I could consistently adhere, in the true sense, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in practice. Especially when important changes occurred in the revolutionary situation, if I could not consciously change my own world outlook and continuously raise my consciousness

in the struggle between the two lines, reversals in thinking would often emerge, and then Chairman Mao's revolutionary line would not be carried out with enough steadfastness.

After the victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, we entered the small cities, and under the pernicious influence of the reactionary fallacy of "the new stage of peace and democracy" advertised by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, some comrades nursed the lethargic thought of peace and lacked ideological preparedness against the attack of the Chiang brigands. At that time, Chairman Mao delivered the report "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan". It opportunely pointed out to us that we could never harbor illusions for imperialism and the reactionaries, but must resolutely defend the people's fruit of victory. We were therefore clearly aware of our orientation, and with our revolutionary fighting spirit further inspired, we redoubled our efforts in the struggle for the overthrow of the reactionary rule of imperialism and its running dogs.

After the liberation of the whole country, although Chairman Mao had already exhorted us on the eve of victory that "to win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li," ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China"), yet our understanding of the protracted, complex and tortuous nature of the class struggle under socialist conditions was quite inadequate. Consequently, after liberation, although we also did some work under the leadership of the Party, yet we were at the same time also corrupted by the bourgeois ideology. There sprang up the mood of unwillingness to lead an arduous life. We lacked ideological preparedness for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and did not know that we were yet required to pass the test of socialism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution launched and led this time by the great leader Chairman Mao himself was a great battle waged by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line against Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. At the beginning of the great movement, the broad revolutionary masses under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao broke through all kinds of taboos and launched a violent attack against a handful of capitalist roaders within the Party. Because my consciousness in the struggle between the two lines was not high, I was unable to match pace with the leap in the development of the revolutionary situation. Fearing this and that, I was on tenterhooks and found myself in a most passive state. At the time, I only felt I just drifted along. I did not know what to do and proceeded from my own world outlook to examine problems.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Every process, whether in the realm of nature or of society, progresses and develops by reason of its internal contradiction and struggle, and the movement of human knowledge should also progress and develop along with it." ("On Practice") However, my recognition was unable to cope with the rapid progress of the revolutionary situation but remained static at the old stage. As a result, I proceeded from fearing the masses to suppressing the masses. Taking instruction from a handful of unrepentant

capitalist roaders represented by Ch'en P'ei-hsien and Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu within the former Shanghai Municipal Committee, I carried out the bourgeois reactionary line and committed serious mistakes.

Now, as I look back over the militant course of the great cultural revolution, I come to see more and more deeply that the line determines everything. With the correct line, there is everything, and if the line is wrong, all other things are also wrong. If one does not consciously change one's world outlook and does not continuously raise one's consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, one cannot steadfastly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and would waver to the "Left" or the Right in the revolutionary struggle. Especially at the crucial moment of the revolutionary struggle, one often would go astray and commit mistakes politically. As a consequence, one can never be satisfied with one's own unaffected class feeling, but must raise such unaffected class feeling to the plane of consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, and transform oneself into a vanguard fighter armed with Mao Tsetung thought and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only in this way can one truly make revolution consciously and forever instead of going "halfway" in the revolution.

The nature of political power is determined by what line is carried out by the power holders. A given line gives concentrated representation to the interests of a given class and is also determined by a given world outlook. In the final analysis, the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook.

Following the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in depth, educated and helped by the broad revolutionary masses, I returned to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and took part in the "three-in-one combination" leading body of the Revolutionary Committee of the Shanghai Muncipal Bureau of Textile Industry. When I was first transferred to the bureau, I was afraid of "running into trouble" ideologically, of spoiling my relationship with the representatives of the masses, and of committing once again the errors of the bourgeois reactionary line. With the word "fear" put above everything else, I was cautious and meticulous and thought only of maintaining a "correct" relationship. I dared not handle problems courageously, and the masses were at odds with me.

With this problem in mind, I studied Chairman Mao's philosophic works and the "three-constantly-read articles." Chairman Mao pointed out again and again: "Contradiction is universal and absolute, is present in the process of development of all things; it permeates the process of development of each thing from baginning to end." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "To deny contradiction is to deny everything. This is a universal truth for all times and all countries without exception." ("On Contradiction") Why did I fear and shun contradiction. In fearing this and that, what was I actually afraid of? It was nothing more than the fear of my committing mistakes again. In the final analysis, this was bourgeois "self," the bourgeois world outlook.

I thought: When I carried out the bourgeois reactionary line at

the early stage of the great cultural revolution, I was full of drive and was afraid of nothing. But now I have fear when I carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Is this not a question of attitude and feeling toward Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Consequently, the transformation of the world outlook is a fundamental question. When one is unable to change consciously one's world outlook, one cannot correctly handle the struggle between the two lines, nor can one sum up the experience of history. One may erroneously head from one extreme to the other and may in the end desert Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Now that I am guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, provided I put the word "daring" above everything else, exert myself in the study of Chairman Mao's works and firmly rely on the masses, I can succeed in my work and make less or no mistakes in principle. If I put the word "fear" above everything else and dare not carry out work, the greater the fear, the greater the chance for me to make mistakes. Fear itself reflects the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we could also have committed mistakes in work because our level of understanding is not high and we have inadequate experience. But provided we correctly deal with things, we can gain experience and learn lessons from mistakes and transform them into valuable assets for continuing with the revolution. What is to be afraid of? By way of studying Chairman Mao's philosophic works, I have finally gradually overcome the word "fear" and replaced it with the word "daring." Practice shows only "selflessness" can lead to fearlessness, and only those who are fearless can make any achievement.

In the process of social practice, we carry out either the correct line or the erroneous line, either consciously or thoughtlessly carry out a certain line. We must incessantly raise our understanding and gradually deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the practice of struggle. Only in this way can we take the initiative to continue with the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we think that since the revolutionary committee has now been established and the question of line solved, we can bury ourselves in business without discussing the line again. If allowed to go on, this would lead us to the danger of losing once again the power we have seized.

Some time ago, our leading bodies at the Bureau and Company levels conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's great teaching, "revolutionary committees must exercise unified leadership," launched an open-door rectification campaign, criticized and repudiated the reactionary theory "many centers, that is, no center," and fiercely struck blows at the class enemy for his undermining and interfering with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. However, two kinds of tendency appeared at the latter stage of the rectification campaign. Some people said: "This rectification campaign is for the rectification of the new cadres and the old-time rebels." This view lacked class analysis and was obviously wrong. Some other comrades advocated that all comrades who had made mistakes be "cleared away" from the leading body. "Left" in form but Right in substance, this view was obviously also wrong. Confronted by such circumstances, what should be done? If we disagreed with the views of these comrades, they would criticize the old-time cadres of "mixing thin mud." If we agreed with the views of these comrades, it would

mean we run counter to the principle of "unity/criticism and self-criticism/unity" toward comrades who had committed mistakes and act against the great call, "Unite and win greater victories" advanced by Chairman Mao at the 9th Congress of the Party.

In order to adhere consistently to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidate the new-born revolutionary committee and correctly handle the new cadres who had made mistakes, I,together with others, conscientiously studied again and again Chairman Mao's "Our Study and the Current Situation." Chairman Mao taught us: "This should be done in the spirit of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient,' in order to achieve the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." By way of study, the understanding of all people was unified on the principled basis of Mao Tsetung thought, and this question was correctly handled according to Chairman Mao's instruction, thus giving stronger education and assistance to the new cadres, raising consciousness in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and consolidating and developing the unified leadership of the Party.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the leading bodies at various levels were reinforced with a number of new cadres. How should the unity between the new and old cadres be strengthened is an important question bearing on the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. According to our understanding, the new and old cadres not only must learn from and support each other, but also must--and this is more important--study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts, and analyze and solve contradictions together so as to speak the common language. I feel that warmly and patiently helping the new cadres rapidly grow to maturity is a political obligation which the old cadres should fulfill and is also an important field for the old cadres to render new meritorious service.

With the socialist revolution developing ever deeper, our ideological revolution should also continuously develop in depth. We discover that under the excellent situation of the victory, the feeling of complacency has unconsciously sprung up in the leading body of our Bureau, and there also has arisen the thinking of willingly remaining mid-stream without making further advance. This kind of thinking--that "is inclined toward revolution but is afraid of recklessness," "seeks to make do with things but not to pass hard tests"--is the beginning of "revisionism" and is diametrically opposite to the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Having studied Chairman Mao's philosophic works with this problem in mind, the leading body of our Bureau deeply feel that this thinking of "make do" is idealistic and metaphysical, and does not correspond with Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The situation is developing and the revolution is advancing. If one thinks that one's own work is "tolerable," one would see only the aspect of achievements in work, but would ignore the shortcomings and problems in work and fail to see that there are still weak links in work. This is the greatest one-sidedness in ideology. Consequently, what is regarded as "tolerable" is in fact the beginning of "intolerable" things. As a leading cadre, he should at all times set high standards for himself. Each victory won in work should be regarded as a new starting

point for continuing the revolution. Only in this way can he closely follow Chairman Mao in the true sense, forever make revolution, continue with the revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and contribute his own strength toward the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

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Conduct Study by Linking It With the Reality of Struggle between the Two Lines

by

Wang Chiang (王江),
commander of a certain air force unit of the
Chinese People's Liberation Army

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The 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Party has issued this great call: "The whole Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic works, uphold dialectical materialism and historical materialism and oppose idealism and metaphysics." Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking is the theoretical basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the series of his directives and policies. It is a sharp weapon for seizing victories in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. I have learned deeply in practice that only by studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in a living way with the problem of the struggle between the two lines in mind shall we be able to study and apply it to the root, consciously carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and direct all kinds of work to develop triumphantly in the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao.

I began to study Chairman Mao's philosophic works in 1958. I had to go through a course before studying them well. For some time, I linked my study mostly with the remolding of the objective world and seldom with the remolding of the subjective world, and mostly with the technical problems in flight training and seldom with the problems in the struggle between the two lines. As a result, I looked after the concrete work but lost the main orientation. In 1965, our air force unit studied some brilliant articles including "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," under the excellent situation where the whole PLA gave prominence to proletarian politics. We applied Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in guiding the training of the complex meteorological flight and in analyzing the techniques and motions in a flight. We scored relatively good results in raising the technical level and insuring safety in flying. But, because we paid one-sided attention to resolving the concrete contradictions in training, we took no heed of applying Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in analyzing and criticizing the bourgeois military line promoted and the eclectic fallacies spread by counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ch'ing. This impeded building of the air force unit in a certain degree.

Why did we study Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking without linking it with the reality of the struggle between the two lines? We repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's works and recalled the history of struggle between the two lines in the Party. We found an important cause, that is, we did not see that the struggle between the two lines was related to the struggle between the two world outlooks. Chairman Mao pointed out:

"Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies." ("On Practice") This great teaching of Chairman Mao's incisively elucidated the close relationship of the two world outlooks with the struggle between the two lines and made me understand that: Each struggle of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line against the "Left" and rightist opportunist lines is invariably companioned by the great struggle between the two world outlooks; Chairman Mao's important philosophic works came into being in the course of such struggle. A correct line guarantees victory of the revolution. The most important duty of a leading cadre is to consciously implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If we are blinded in a flight, we shall lose our bearings and may even cause great damage. If we are blinded in doing leadership work, we shall be deviated, and this will cause greater damage.

Vice Chairman Lin has instructed us: "The fundamental spirit of Comrade Mao Tsetung's idea of army building is that prominence should be given to politics in building the people's army and attention should be paid, first of all and emphatically, to political building of the army." ("Long Live the Victory of People's War") Whether prominence should be given to politics or military affairs is the focal point of the struggle between the two military lines. To firmly implement Chairman Mao's line of army building, it is necessary to constantly grasp this principal contradiction between politics and military affairs and grasp politics, the principal aspect of this contradiction. If we confuse the primary with the secondary, we shall lose our central idea; if we put the primary and the secondary in wrong places, we shall have put our central idea upside down. Class struggle during the socialist period is protracted and complex and may take a tortuous path. This struggle will invariably be reflected in the army unit through various channels. This determines the protractedness of the struggle between the two military lines. Giving prominence to proletarian politics cannot be achieved once and for all. After a tendency of disregarding the giving of prominence to proletarian politics has been rejected, the pernicious influence of the bourgeois military line still may appear in a new shape, impeding and sabotaging Chairman Mao's proletarian line of army building. Therefore, we must talk about giving prominence to proletarian politics and grasp it every day, every month and every year.

Because the air force has its characteristics, if we do not apply Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in analyzing these characteristics but just emphasize its "particularity," we cannot correctly handle the relationship between politics and military affairs and will, consciously or unwittingly, slip into the bourgeois military line.

Flying involves complex techniques. In flying, we often may meet contradictions between politics and techniques. We have on many occasions criticized the tendency of more importance to techniques than to politics, but this does not mean that this question has been solved forever. Last year, when the situation required strengthening of combat preparedness, some

comrades attached importance to material preparedness and did not pay sufficient attention to spiritual preparedness, saying that "devoting more time to flying means strengthening combat preparedness and closely following the current situation," "fulfillment of one-good requirement will bring about the fulfillment of the other three-good requirements, and devoting more time to flying means being good in bringing about this fulfillment." This opinion was an expression of the simple technical viewpoint in the new situation.

In view of this state of affairs, we organized all to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's philosophic works. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Ideological and political work guarantees accomplishment of economical and technical work; it serves the economic base. Ideology and politics are the commander as well as the soul. Once we slightly relax our ideological and political work, economic and technical work will invariably go wrong." If we pay one-sided attention to techniques and take no heed of politics, we shall forget class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and shall become fools in politics. In order to "make all-out efforts to annihilate invading enemies without fail," we need tough techniques and this kind of technique should never for a moment be separated from the command of politics. The more complex the techniques are, the more we should bring proletarian politics to the fore; the tougher the techniques are required to be, the more we should raise the standard of ideological revolutionization. With thinking raised, we shall be more conscious in paying attention to politics in analyzing and solving problems.

Last year, a group of flyers carried out training relatively slowly. To solve this problem, we first made an investigation of the ideological and technical conditions of these flyers. We discovered that they carried out training relatively slowly because they were restricted by various objective conditions and had less time for flying. But, they were filled with political fervor, were enthusiastic ideologically and were resolved to defend great leader Chairman Mao and the territorial air of the socialist motherland. In my opinion, they lagged behind technically and this was only a temporary phenomenon; if they persisted in giving prominence to proletarian politics, they could translate the spiritual force into a material force. Accordingly, bringing with me these data obtained in the investigation, I got together with them to conscientiously study "On Contradiction" and led them to pay attention to the mainstream and the development and to overcome their metaphysical viewpoint, thereby very quickly raising their thinking. After that, we eagerly helped these flyers politically and conscientiously led them in technical training. They accomplished their training tasks very quickly and a number of cadres also grew up from among them.

Flight training of the aviation unit is restricted by objective conditions, such as meteorology, airplane, runway and continuous flying. Intricate and complex contradictions also occur often in work. Under these circumstances, whether or not we can persist in giving prominence to proletarian politics is another problem we often meet. Sometimes, the plan of political education had to be waived to take advantage of the weather suitable for flying and to organize training; at other times, the characteristics of flight training had to be neglected. This impeded the

all-round heightening of the fighting force of the unit. Why did this phenomena of wavering and failure to grasp the key link occur? Chairman Mao teaches us: "In studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction." He also points out: "There are thousands of scholars and men of action who do not understand it. The result is that, lost in fog, they are unable to get to the heart of a problem and naturally cannot find a way to resolve its contradictions." ("On Contradiction") After studying these teachings of Chairman Mao, I deeply realized that: The more complex the situation is and the more contradictions there are, the more we should give prominence to proletarian politics and bring the power of political work into full play, so that we can resolve the intricate and complex contradictions and perform our various tasks with better results.

In March this year, our unit carried out the "two-recalling and three-examination" education. At the moment, according to weather forecast, it was good time for carrying out complex meteorological training. These two tasks were important measures for strengthening revolutionized and militant building of the unit and had to be carried out intensively. This gave rise to the contradiction between the time for political education and the season for flight training and, consequently, the contradictions in the use of the practice airplane, periodical examination of airplane, and various items of non-combative duties and safety measures. After conscientiously analyzing this state of affairs, our Party committee held that, in doing various items of work, effort should be made first to do political and ideological work and conducting the "two-recalling and three-examination" education was the major link to be grasped in performing various tasks well. It made proper arrangements on the basis of this guiding idea. Its members went separately among flyers, engineers and other non-combative and security personnel to make investigations, so as to improve the quality of the "two-recalling and three-examination" education. Meanwhile, they took advantage of this chance to intensify the complex meteorological training. The "two-recalling and three-examination" education greatly raised the class consciousness of the cadres and the fighters and exploited the enthusiasm of the masses. Consequently, the complex meteorological training and various tasks were accomplished with relatively good results.

Practice in many years in the past made me realize deeply: when we apply Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in solving the relationship between politics and military affairs, we are more conscious in implementing Chairman Mao's line of army building and in preventing the camouflage of one tendency by another and can have the initiative in leading our work. When we lack this consciousness, we shall waver to the left and to the right and cannot get rid of the passiveness in leading our work. To minimize our blindness, strengthen our consciousness and perseveringly implement Chairman Mao's line of army building, we must constantly study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking and correctly handle the relationship between politics and military affairs:

1. We must show concern for the situation as a whole while looking at a part. Politics is the whole and military affairs the part; military

affairs serves politics. The Party committee charges me to take care of military affairs, which is only a part in the building of our air force unit, which is the whole. I must proceed from politics in order to take charge of military affairs well. If I confine my scope to the part, my view will be localized and one-sided and I cannot consciously give prominence to proletarian politics. Only by always thinking of the whole shall I be able to make the part of my work meet the needs of the whole and of the development of the situation.

2. We must grasp the unchangeableness in a change. The principle of giving prominence to proletarian politics is unchangeable, while the situation and the tasks are changeable. The class content of the struggle between the two military lines is unchangeable, whereas the form of struggle is changeable. We must see the essence through the appearances of a thing and firmly and unswervingly give prominence to proletarian politics. We also must make investigations in depth, make concrete analysis of concrete problems, and adopt different methods to solve different problems.

3. We must pay attention to the change of revolution. In using one of the four-good requirements to lead the other three, the key lies in "leading." Spiritual force and material force are always interchangeable. Political and ideological work continuously promotes the change of revolution. In grasping military affairs, we must proceed from thinking. The course of military work in turn becomes a course to raise thinking. Only by constantly thinking about the change of revolution shall we be able to conduct political and ideological work in all activities and bring its role of the commander and the guarantor into play all the time.

Vice Chairman Lin points out: "Individualism is the cause of all evils." The subjective one-sidedness of one sort and another we foster in the course of implementing Chairman Mao's line of army building originates mostly from the bourgeois "self-interests" in our innermost being. I have deeply realized that: If one fosters selfish ideas, one is invariably prejudiced; once the selfish idea flashes across the mind, one is deviated instantly. For example, if we foster the bourgeois "self-interests" when opinions diverge among ourselves, we dare not uncover the contradictions and subsequently can neither adhere firmly to the principle nor correct our mistakes; if we foster the bourgeois "self-interests" when we work smoothly, we shall be conceited and complacent, be contented with the present situation, stand still and refuse to go forward. Only by getting rid of the bourgeois "self-interests" in our minds shall we be able to have a real grasp of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking. I definitely shall continue to study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in a living way, destroy my self-interests and establish devotion to the public during the struggle between the two lines, make strenuous effort to remold my world outlook, give prominence to proletarian politics forever and insure that our air force unit will closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and advance continuously along the road of political building of the army.

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Employ Chairman Mao's Philosophic Thinking To Control Nature

by

the Meteorological Service Station of Ch'ungtso hsien, Kwangsi

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, November 17, 1970)

Editor's Note:

This is a stimulating article on the living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts and is also an analytical summing up of work. It tells us that man's understanding of objective laws must go through the process of practice, knowledge, more practice, more knowledge a number of times. So long as we arm ourselves with dialectic materialism and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we can "continuously open up in practice the road to the knowledge of truth."

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"The whole Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic works, promote dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and oppose idealism and metaphysics," points out the "communique" of the Second Plenum of the 9th CCP Central Committee. This militant call is of profound significance.

Looking back over our employing Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic concepts to change our world outlook and putting them in command of the practice of meteorological work in the past few years, all of us have deeply come to understand that Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts constitute the revolutionary and scientific world outlook and methodology of the proletariat and are sharp weapons for winning victories in the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. By conscientiously making living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts and firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we can gradually understand and master the laws governing weather changes, win freedom in the struggle against Nature, make observation of weather for the revolution, and control Nature.

There are in all seven comrades in our station. Their average age is less than 30, and the youngest one is only 22 years old. Besides some comrades who had gone to university to study in the specialty of meteorology, some had learned meteorological knowledge only in secondary vocational schools or training classes. Most of them left school and came to work at the station in the second half of 1964, and were short of practical experience. We were entrusted by Chairman Mao and the Party with the militant task of making weather forecasts. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants pinned very high hopes on us saying that we were "in control of Nature." We

ourselves were also imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary zeal. However, because we were poisoned by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education, and we had not satisfactorily transformed our world outlook, our minds were full of conventions, and in the past we often made erroneous or belated forecasts of weather--especially of disastrous weather. On one occasion, when a cold current struck and low temperature and rainy weather prevailed for 13 days in succession, we made the opposite weather forecast saying that there would be no low-temperature rainy weather in the next ten days, and early rice could be sown on a large scale. This resulted in the rot of seedlings, a serious phenomenon affecting spring farming production. Sometimes, we also made accurate forecasts. For example, in the winter of 1965, we forecast on five occasions the appearance of frost bite in Ch'ungtso area, but because we lacked the thinking of wholeheartedly and thoroughly serving the people, we did not notify in good time the various communes and brigades to adopt preventive measures against frost, thus causing the precious economic crops of 60 nursery gardens and the winter crops of some communes and brigades in the hsien to be damaged by frost. The masses declared with indignation: "It is better to call your meteorological station the vexatious station!"

Mistakes and setbacks have taught us lessons and made us understand that in order to control Nature, it is imperative to solve the contradiction between man and Nature. "It is people, not things, that are decisive." ("On Protracted War") To control Nature, it is first necessary to do a good job in the control of man and to rely on Mao Tsetung thought to make a success of the ideological revolutionization of man. We conscientiously studied the "three constantly read articles," transformed our world outlook, and established the orientation of putting meteorological work in the service of proletarian politics. We made up our minds "to make weather observation for the revolution and to control well Nature for the people. We have no fear of the unpredictability of weather and energetically grasp the root causes without changing direction. We are not afraid of the thunderstorm, and our red hearts are forever loyal to Chairman Mao."

One night, a violent storm struck with thunder and lightning. A female comrade who was on duty was well aware that it was fatal to make observation and transmit messages in such inclement weather. But she recalled Chairman Mao's teaching that "to die for the people is a worthy death" ("Serve the People"), and she therefore fearlessly made preparations for conducting observation and transmitting messages. Suddenly, a thunderbolt struck and all lights went out. She also was hit and she fell senseless to the ground. Another comrade who had just left at once rushed back to the observatory with a flashlight. He too was knocked senseless to the ground by another thunderbolt. Drenched in the downpour, his consciousness was soon restored. He at once jumped up to record the observations, but was knocked senseless to the ground once again by a thunderbolt. At the time, another comrade brought into play the dauntless spirit of stepping into the breach no sooner his comrade fell, and rushed forth to transmit messages. Seizing every minute and second, he transmitted messages according to schedule, thus enabling the units concerned to receive accurate meteorological information in good time and to avoid losses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution raised our awareness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as well as our consciousness in employing Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts to transform our world outlook and win freedom for the control of Nature. We came to know that we paid attention only to book knowledge in the past, had blind faith in the "experts" and "authorities," slighted practical experience, and crammed our brains with considerable idealistic and metaphysical things. The great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "Correct ideas come from social practice and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment." ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") This is a great truth. We resolved to go to the countryside in accordance with Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, to go amidst the broad masses of the people that formed the main body of revolutionary practice to get re-educated, and to learn and apply the old peasants' practical experience in watching weather.

We came to the countryside group by group and "ate, lived, worked and consulted with" the masses. The noble quality of the poor and lower-middle peasants who were boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and worked heart and soul for the revolution touched us deep to the soul, and caused us to discard the haughty airs of the intellectuals and to accept honestly re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants welcomed our taking this course of action. An old poor peasant who was almost 70 years old told us: "In the old society, I did not make known my weather watching experience because I could not let the landlords take advantage of it. Today, for the sake of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, I'll tell you all I know." He told us at different times more than 50 weather watching experiences that had a great role to play in improving our work. For example, when we used the experience passed on by him to forecast the semi-heavy and heavy rains in April through June last year, four of our five forecasts proved to be accurate.

"The masses are the real heroes." In accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's, we regarded the poor and lower-middle peasants as our teachers, and raked up more than 340 weather-watching experiences from them. Besides an abundance of agricultural proverbs, there are also plenty of methods for observing natural phenomena and the movement of creatures--for example, there is fine weather in nine out of ten misty days, migration of ants, surfacing of earthworms, loaches leaping out of the water, lowflying dragon-flies, etc. By making use of the experience of the masses in conjunction with the useful knowledge from books, we greatly raised the accuracy of our forecasts. In view of this, we showed firmer determination and faith in relying on the masses to control Nature. We set up in the whole hsien eight old peasants' weather-watching groups, and regularly sought advice from the old peasants.

However, the use of the old peasants' weather-watching experience was sometimes also ineffective. On one occasion, we made a forecast that was directly based on the agricultural proverb: "A very hot day is usually followed by a rainy day." The result was exactly the opposite, and it got hotten and drier. What was actually the cause? After making repeated analyses and tests in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "concrete

conditions should be analyzed concretely," we came to understand that heat is divided into oppressive heat and dry heat. An oppressive and hot day shows that the humidity is high, thus providing the condition for rain. A day that is hot but not oppressive will get hotter and drier. This greatly enlightened us: The old peasants' experience cannot be swallowed as a whole but must be analyzed, studied, summed up and improved with Chairman Mao's philosophic concepts so that such experience can rise to become theory for successful application.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching--"eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside," we comprehensively tested and verified the old peasants' experiences and our station's meteorological data. By way of discarding the dross and selecting the essential and through "practice, knowledge, more practice and more knowledge," we discovered ever more laws governing weather changes and acquired greater freedom for the control of nature. For example, on May 15 last year, after three days of consecutive semi-heavy rains throughout the hsien, there immediately appeared the phenomenon of a big disparity in temperature, and it was warm in day time and cold at night. We made a comprehensive analysis by combining the meteorological data with the proverb, "When it is warm in day time and cold at night, even the East China Sea is dry," we discovered that during the period from May to September, should there be a difference of more than ten degrees in temperature between day and night after the rains were over, a longer dry period free from showers would appear under ordinary conditions. Since there was a difference of more than ten degrees in temperature between day and night after it rained on May 18, we made the forecast that there would be a drought and notified the various communes and brigades to store up and conserve water. Later, a drought actually appeared. This enabled us to taste further the sweetness of employing material dialectics to sum up the practice experience of the masses.

With headway made in the situation of the revolution and production, the leadership and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants urgently called on us to forecast accurately disastrous weather and make long-term weather forecasts, so that better plans could be made for production. We resolved to do a better job in the study and application of Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic oncepts and to tackle the technical barriers in accurately forecasting cold waves and typhoons and in making long-term weather forecasts.

A cold wave is a type of disastrous weather that greatly menaces the nursing of early rice seedlings. In order to forecast accurately the cold wave, we made a lot of inquiries among the old peasants. By testing the weather proverb that "with the south wind blowing strongly, the north wind will return the greetings" with the data of our station, we discovered that before the arrival of the cold wave (north wind), the south wind blew continuously at the Ch'ungtso area in most cases.

Chairman Mao taught: "Given specific conditions, the two aspects of a contradiction invariably turn into their respective opposites as a result of the struggle between them." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions

Among the People") In accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's, we firmly grasped this characteristic of "the south wind blowing strongly" caused by the violent struggle between the south wind and the north wind, that is, between the cold wave and the warm wave, to look for conditions leading to the transformation. We discovered that if the south wind was as strong as four meters per second in velocity in day time and was blowing continuously for four to six days or longer, the Ch'ungtso area would be affected by another cold wave.

However, the cold wave affected the Ch'ungtso area in different ways. Sometimes it was over after the place was swept by the north wind for a while, but sometimes, it gave rise to continuous rainy weather and low temperature for a number of days, thus endangering spring sowing. How could such weather be accurately forecast? We also analyzed and studied the agricultural proverb, "A strong north wind brings fine weather, while a strong south wind brings bad and rainy weather," and came to understand that when the north wind (cold wave) was strong, the rain clouds scattered fast and the rainy weather would not last long, but the opposite was true when the south wind was strong. The two opposites of the cold air and the warm air are like two armies in contest with the stronger one defeating the weaker. The outcome of their struggle leads to fine weather or rainy weather. After repeated analyses and studies, we finally found the conditions that caused the two aspects of the contradiction--cold air and warm air--to turn into their respective opposites, thus deriving various data for forecasting weather in a cold wave and the duration of the cold wave, and greatly raising the accuracy in weather forecasting.

Last year, the Ch'ungtso area was affected by cold air on eleven occasions, and with the exception of the two occasions involving a discrepancy of about three days, the weather was accurately forecast on nine occasions. In forecasting the eight incursions of cold air this year, the weather was accurately forecast on all occasions with the exception of one in which there was a discrepancy of one day.

The accurate forecasting of torrential rains brought by typhoons is another problem before us. In the past few years, we often came across these conditions: When Kwangsi was affected by typhoon, sometimes, there were strong winds and heavy rains in our hsien; sometimes, there were only strong winds but no heavy rains; sometimes there were sustained heavy rains but no strong winds; and sometimes there was neither wind nor rain. What gave rise to these conditions? In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "external factors function by way of internal factors," we analyzed and tested again and again the experience of the old peasants and the data accumulated by our station in the past twelve years, and came to understand that the extent to which the Ch'ungtso area was affected by the typhoon was principally determined by the meteorological conditions, that is, the internal factors of the Ch'ungtso area. For example, the higher the absolute humidity was at noon for three days in succession before the typhoon struck, the greater would be the precipitation.

In July last year when our hsien was tensely engaged in resisting the drought, the observatory of the autonomous region forecast over a consecutive number of days that South Kwangsi would be affected by a typhoon and there would be semi-heavy to heavy rains and even torrential rains in some localities. The Ch'ungtso area lies in South Kwangsi, but at the time, according to the observation of our station, the absolute humidity was quite low and there were not the conditions for heavy rains. We therefore forecast that there would be showers, and our forecast proved correct. This enabled the whole hsien to whip up another upsurge of struggle against the drought.

In their protracted struggle against Nature, the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants have discovered many corresponding relations in weather changes. For example, a dry winter will be followed by a wet spring, a cold winter will be followed by a warm spring, a long period of rains will be followed by a long period of fine weather, "should the sky be overcast on the 15th day of the eighth moon, there would be drizzle on the 15th day of the first moon," etc. Corresponding relations of this kind reflect to a certain extent certain laws governing weather changes.

In March last year, to greet the convening of the 9th Congress of the Party, we planned to use this kind of corresponding relations to chart the rhythm of weather and to make weather forecasts over longer terms. We made a careful survey of the proverb, "If the south wind does not blow for a short while during Winter Solstice, there will be dry weather during Summer Solstice" in conjunction with the meteorological data of our station. As a result, we discovered that in the Ch'ungtso area, if the south wind did not blow continuously for a few days during the solar period of Winter Solstice, there would be little rain during the Summer Solstice in the following year 180 days afterward, and the opposite was also true.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching in "On Contradiction" that "as regards the sequence inthe movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general," we computed and analyzed the data accumulated by our station over the past twelve years, and discovered further a cyclical change in weather. Should the south wind appear a number of times in December, there would appear correspondingly rainy weather a number of times in June the following year 180 days afterward, and the opposite was also true. We fought fearlessly for half a month, computed and analyzed the meteorological data of 144 months in the past twelve years and made our 144 charts. From these charts, we discovered that there were also similar corresponding relations between January and July, February and August, etc.--about 180 days apart. Based on this and other factors, we made charts denoting the rhythm of weather in 180 days for use as tools in making forecasts, thus enabling our station to take another step forward in making long-term forecasts. Last year, we made forecasts with these rhythmic charts in conjunction with other forecasting tools, and accurately forecast heavy rains on nine out of eleven occasions.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Often, a correct idea can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") The making of charts denoting the rhythm of weather in 180 days enabled us to take a big step forward in understanding the laws of weather changes. But was this understanding consummated? No. The reason was that such rhythmic charts could only forecast with relative accuracy when it would rain, but were not very ideal for forecasting the actual rainfall on each occasion and whether or not there would be heavy rains or torrential rains. To solve this question, we worked on the basis of the charts denoting the rhythm of weather in 180 days, and beginning in April this year, we spent four months time to find out the heavy rains and torrential rains that had appeared in July and August of the seven years ranging from 1963 to 1969. We then intensively analyzed and studied one by one the weather conditions prevailing 180 days earlier, thus finding out their universal laws, working out "model formulae of heavy rains and torrential rains" for use as forecasting tools, and solving the question of forecasting the rainfall. We used "model formulae" of this kind to forecast accurately the coming of heavy and torrential rains on three occasions in August. Tested in practice, they gave good results and provided us with a deeper understanding of the laws of weather changes.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world." ("On Practice") In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we brought the knowledge of the laws of weather changes once again back to the practice of forecasting for testing, and continuously summed up and raised them on the one hand. On the other hand, we used forecasting to serve directly industrial and agricultural production and the livelihood of the people. We held that weather forecasting would be useless if such "forecasts" were not put into "application."

One day, the foreign trade station was drying a consignment of goods in the sun. When we discovered that it was about to rain, we rang up the foreign trade station a number of times, but there was no one there to answer the phone. As a result, the goods were damaged by the rains, thus bringing losses to the state. Although it appeared that we had no responsibility in this connection, yet we still held a meeting to study Chairman Mao's teaching that "our responsibility is to hold ourselves responsible to the people, to examine why we didn't send someone to notify the other side in person, and to show that we had not fully filfilled our responsibility and done a good job in the control of Nature. Subsequently, we reinforced our forecasting service in accordance with the special needs of industrial and agricultural production and of various trades, and opportunely notified the establishments concerned of changes in weather conditions.

In August this year, the countryside was very busy with summer harvesting and summer planting. One morning the sky was covered with dark clouds, and it appeared that it was going to rain. However, according to the analysis of

the meteorological features by our station, the rain clouds would disperse at about 9 o'clock, the sun would appear, and it would not rain until after three o'clock in the afternoon. We accordingly advised the production brigades that it was safe for them to dry their grains in the sun, thus avoiding losses caused by sprouting grain.

On another occasian, a consignment of goods was dumped in the open at the railroad station. At eleven o'clock that night, we discovered sudden changes in the meteorological features that heralded a thunderstorm. We therefore advised the railroad station to take preventive measures against the rains, and sure enough, rains came shortly afterward.

In our place, the rice vermicelli shops must have weather information in order to decide on the quantity of vermicelli to be prepared because there were more customers in fine weather and less customers in rainy weather. The boarding houses must do their laundry work in fine weather. The joint transportation office must also have weather information in order to decide over what routes should trucks be sent to the mountainous areas, and whether or not the goods brought back should be unloaded and sent to the warehouses at once. We made special forecasts ahead in accordance with their actual needs. The broad revolutionary masses welcomed our taking this course of action. They declared: "You have truly harnessed Nature, and the vexatious station has become the pleasing station!" The broad revolutionary masses encouraged us in this way.

In the past few years, we relied on invincible Mao Tsetung thought for every one of our achievements in meteorological work. From now on, we are resolved to do a better job in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, change the world outlook, put proletarian politics in command of work, guide work with materialistic dialectics, continue with the revolution, make uninterrupted advancement and serve the people with a whole heart.

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Employ Chairman Mao's Philosophic Thinking To Look for Water

by

the CCP Committee attached to No. 2 Hydro-Geological Brigade

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

Editor's Note:

While the last article discusses the control of Nature, this one discusses the search for water. The article refutes "know-nothingism" in geological prospecting work and is imbued with revolutionary optimism.

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Our No. 2 Hydro-Geological Brigade is a specialized geological team engaged in the prospecting and study of hydro-geology and engineering geology in the Shanghai area. Along with the development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, it has undertaken for more than one year the task of prospecting ground water for certain key engineering projects in other provinces.

Ground water is hidden within the strata. As a consequence, the process of searching for ground water is one of how to make subjective understanding agree with objective reality. In this regard, there is a most violent struggle between the two kinds of world outlook and methodology.

For a long time, the idealistic and metaphysical viewpoints were deep-rooted in hydro-geological work. The bourgeois academic "authorities" deliberately mystified things and tried their utmost to spread "know-nothingism." They claimed that ground water was "something that cannot be seen with the eyes or touched with the hands, and we have to work blindly with our eyes open or to grope with our eyes closed." They isolatedly, statically and unilaterally observed and handled the complex and variable geological phenomena, and often declared this place as "an area short of water" and that place as "an area with no water," thus seriously impeding the development of the cause of building socialism in China.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, inspired by the great leader Chairman Mao's militant call for "liberating philosophy from the philosophers' classrooms and books and turning it into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses," we began to study and apply creatively Chairman Mao's philosophic works, change the world outlook and grasp the laws of ground water. Consciousness was translated into matter. Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking brought us infinite wisdom and strength, and enabled us to find ground water in many places--especially we found precious and abundant supply of ground water in certain places that had long ago been determined to be "short of water" or "without water," thus causing "know-nothingism" to go bankrupt.

How Did We Turn a Place "Short of Water" into One "Rich in Water"

In August last year, we were searching in the places mentioned above for water for a key engineering project. There along the undulating mountains, rivers were dry and the streams were shallow. The place had long ago been determined by certain bourgeois academic "authorities" as an "area short of water." Before we went there, some people had already carried out some preliminary prospecting work, and they concluded that there was not enough surface water and very little ground water.

Was the place actually "short of water? With this problem in mind, we studied what Chairman Mao taught us in "On Practice": "All the dialectical movements of the objective world can sooner or later be reflected in human knowledge." We are convinced that all objective things can be understood. Although ground water is hidden deep underground, yet it always would be reflected through certain phenomena. The key to the question lies in whether or not we are able to observe carefully all phenomena and discover the essence through analyzing them.

At a glance, this area really was prone to give people the impression of an area "short of water." The rivers were small and shallow, and they dried up in a drought. Most of the caves were dry. But these were only superficial phenomena. If we "merely look from afar and, after glimpsing the rough outline, immediately try to resolve the contradiction (to answer a question, settle a dispute, handle work, or direct a military operation), this way of doing things is bound to lead to trouble." ("On Contradiction") Chairman Mao pointed out: "All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience." ("On Practice") Bearing in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's, we looked over every mountain around the worksite, and discovered that three pieces of land deserved attention. The rocks of the first piece had fissures; those of the second piece had caves and cracks; and the third piece formed a river valley in the mountain and looked like a "basin" in topography. All these three pieces of land could have ground water.

Which of these pieces of land was after all rich in ground water? After surveying, analyzing and comparing these three pieces of land, we discovered that the third piece of land not only was a depression on the surface but also was an ancient basin of considerable size underground depressed at the center and surrounded by higher land. Since water flows to a lower place, ground water would probably gather there. We therefore chose this site for making the first drilling. As a result, the first drilling struck a big dissolution cave, and water flowed out at the rate of more than 100 tons per hour. Subsequently, we made three more drillings, thus scoring one success after another. Guided by Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking, we found at this so-called place "short of water" a rich source of ground water that yielded 15,000 tons of water every 24 hours.

Is there ground water in all places with similar surface features? It is not necessarily so. Later, we fared differently when we looked for water in another "area short of water." There were also many big dry caves on the surface in that place, and the topography was also similar to a

"basin." Some comrades thought that this was a good piece of land, and advocated that drilling should be made there. However, the effort was fruitless. At the time, a few comrades were somewhat discouraged. We studied once again Chairman Mao's philosophic works and came to understand that while the essence of things must be exhibited by means of phenomena, yet the phenomena are not equal to the essence itself. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we had the phenomena "reconstructed by discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside," decided to investigate and study things further, and strove to find the phenomena that could best reflect the essence of things.

By way of calling on the poor and lower-middle peasants of the place to make inquiries, we learned that when it rained, there were springs coming out from some places on the hill slopes in the vicinity. We also heard that although the "Shark Cave" had dried up long ago, yet many years before, after a period of torrential rains, sharks of a kind unseen before swam out of the cave in the flood water. All things are interconnected and interdependent. Since there were sharks, there must be ground water for the sharks to live in. There was also circulated among the poor and lower-middle peasants of the place that "there is a river in the bowels of the mountains." We felt that these phenomena had some direct connection with ground water and could reflect its essence.

Therefore, we organized a shock group, and braving the local legend that there were wild beasts and poisonous snakes in the cave, we crawled into the "Shark Cave" that had never been entered before with hurricane lamps in our hands. We went in and out of the cave three times and carefully inspected the cave. We discovered that there were cracks on the cave wall, and the water in the cave permeated downward through these cracks. After making a comprehensive analysis of the various phenomena inside and outside the cave, we determined afresh the site for drilling. After drilling to a depth of 51 meters, we struck a dissolution cave, and water flowed out at the rate of more than 100 tons per hour. A school of sharks with red tails and round bodies also gushed forth with the water. Hearing the news an old poor peasant who was sick in bed asked his grandson to take him to the scene. Seeing the clear water gushing forth from the well, he said with excitement: "Since ancient times, we have never heard that so much water could be brought out from the rocks. We truly owe all this to the good leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao!"

How Did We Turn "Dead Water" Into Live Water

In hydro-geological work, we often would come across things of this kind: Although the drilling was correctly arranged and the dissolution cave that could have stored up water was also struck, yet no water was extracted. In the past, when some people encountered such a state of affairs, instead of analyzing the concrete causes, they lightly came to the conclusion that any cave that "did not yield water" was a "dead cave." This is actually to deny the possibility of knowing further the laws governing the activity of ground water, and is also a kind of "know-nothingism".

Can a "dead cave" yield live water? By way of studying Chairman Mao's philosophic works, we have gained some new knowledge on this question.

On one occasion, we were looking for water for an engineering project. When we drilled to the depth of 110 meters, we discovered that there was a big dissolution cave about ten meters high underground. We felt happy and jumped with joy. However, this big dissolution cave that was rarely seen could yield but a bit of water at first, and soon afterward, only mud and sand came out and no more water could be extracted. "No sooner we cheered than we found there was no more water." At that time, some people held that this was a "dead cave" and they advocated the drilling of another one.

Was this big dissolution cave actually a "dead cave" or a live cave? A heated debate ensued around this question. The reason that this cave was thought to be a "dead cave" was that since the stratum here was old and no water could be extracted after more than ten days of work, the conclusion could be drawn. The majority of comrades were of the view that all conclusions must be based on the investigation of things and before we were able to clarify entirely why the cave did not yield water, we should not lightly come to a conclusion. From the rock waste extracted, we could see that the stratum here was made up of limestone, but mud and sand were extracted from the hole. How could there be so much mud and sand in the limestone? With this problem in mind, we studied "On Contradiction."

Chairman Mao taught us: "The world outlook of materialist dialectics holds that in order to understand the development of a thing, we should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement, while each thing in its movement is inter-related with and interacts on the things around it." We held that this dissolution cave was after all not a "dead cave" and the water in the cave was also not "dead water," but over many ages, the mud and sand carried by the flowing water had deposited themselves in the dissolution cave and the crevices. The flowing water and the mud and sand were "the two contradictory aspects within a thing each of which transforms itself into its opposite and changes its position to that of its opposite in given conditions." ("On Contradiction") When a large quantity of mud and sand deposited themselves, the mud and sand became the principal aspect of the contradiction, and by that time, the live cave would be transformed into a "dead cave" and the live water into "dead water." If the question were looked at with the metaphysical viewpoint, both the flowing water and the mud and sand would be regarded as isolated phenomena, and this dissolution cave would be erroneously regarded as a "dead cave."

Chairman Mao taught us: "External causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and external causes become operative through internal causes." Since the so-called "dead cave" of the present was transformed from the live cave under given conditions, then it was also entirely possible to create afresh conditions for the transformation of the "dead cave" into a live cave. We thus rejected the "dead cave" conclusion, and abandoned the idea of drilling another hole. All of us were full of

confidence in our ability to effect this transformation. Acting in concert, we put forward many plans and methods, and after a number of tests, we finally got rid of a large quantity of mud and sand that blocked the cave and the rock crevices, thus bringing about the transformation of the contradiction, and converting the "dead cave" into a live cave and the "dead water" into live water. By proceeding from knowing the causes of the "dead cave" to transforming the "dead cave" and extracting live water, we have once again the enormous power derived by translating consciousness into matter. We have also shown that so long as we use materialist dialectics to observe the world, all things that appear to be "dead" in Nature can be understood and transformed.

How Did We Change a Place with "No Water" into One with Water

Chairman Mao taught us: "There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction, there would be no world." ("On Contradiction") In the past, we always thought that there was no contradiction in the hard rock. Guided by Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking, we have shown by way of practice that the rock is also "one divides into two."

This year, we went to look for ground water for an important engineering project. The stratigraphic rocks there were comparatively hard and very poor in permeability. According to the geological data recorded in the past, it was an "area with no water." The water used at the worksite could only be brought in by trucks that had to make a round trip of more than ten kilometers every day. The leading comrade of the engineering unit earnestly told us: "It would also be nice if only one ton of water could be found."

In order to find ground water in this "area without water," it was first necessary to have adequate foundation to overthrow the conclusion that it was an "area without water." We made a careful investigation of the geological conditions and discovered that the strata there were made up of two kinds of rocks--quartzite and wollastonite. These two kinds of rocks are relatively hard in texture, and if they exist in isolation, it is generally not possible for any of them to be hydrous. However, what is described as soft and what is described as hard are used in a relative sense. Compared with other kinds of rocks of softer texture, these two kinds of rocks are both hard, but when these two kinds of rocks exist together, they are vary in degree of hardness. When the two are compared, wollastonite is softer than quartzite and also has a definite dissolubility. Speaking in a relative sense, when wallastonite is mixed with quartzite, there is a definite possibility for the former to be hydrous.

Later, after making another careful examination, we discovered that there were small dissolved holes on the wollastonite inside the excavations, thus further proving that it was possible to have water underground. We therefore decided to make a drilling into the wollastonite. Sure enough, at a depth of 106 meters, we struck a dissolution cave with water, thus overthrowing the conclusion that the place was an "area without water" and assuring this engineering project of the water needed.

There is contradiction in the stratum comprising two kinds of rocks. Is there contradiction in the stratum comprising one single kind of rock? Not long ago, we went to an island to look for ground water. The place is very precipitous everywhere, and the strata on the island is made up of volcanic rock which is hard and compact in structure. Some comrades said: "There is not much possibility to find water in this kind of rock." In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "the analytical method is the dialectical method, and what is called analysis is the analysis of the contradiction of things," we made a concrete analysis of the volcanic rock. Everybody held that according to the dialectical view, there is nothing that is absolutely pure in the world and anything is divisible. By means of prospecting drilling, we discovered that the rocks on this island had small cracks at the upper part but were compact and crackless at the lower part. This showed that the upper part and the lower part were not the same. We also discovered that in a mountain cavity, there were more cracks on the weather-worn rocks. This showed that even the volcanic rock was not an "iron plate" (actually, an iron plate is also divisible) and had its weak links. Because the rocks themselves were at variance at the upper part and the lower part, on the question of drilling, it was necessary to "make a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions," and handle correctly the dialectical relationship of depth. Under normal conditions, it was generally hoped to drill deeper, because it was thought that a greater quantity of water could be obtained in this way. But in this place, deep drilling did not find any water. On the other hand, by drilling a shallow hole at the mountain cavity, we found precious fresh water on the island lying far away from the mainland. Jubilant and inspired, the PLA fighters stationed on the island and the geological fighters of our brigade shouted again and again at the top of their voice: "Long live Chairman Mao, a long, long life to him!"

When Drinking the Water, Give a Thought to the Fountain and Continue with the Revolution

Places "short of water" have been transformed into places rich in water, "dead water" is turned into living water, and places "without water" have been transformed into places with water. It appears that this involves only solving the question of relationship between human beings and things, but in order to solve the question of relationship between human beings and things, it is first necessary to solve the question of relationship between one man and another, the question of struggle between the two classes, the two lines. Chairman Mao's philosophic thought is not only the gold key for us to unlock the secrets of nature, but also--and this is more important--a sharp weapon for us to carry out the struggle between the two classes, the two lines.

Chairman Mao profoundly points out: "Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies." ("On Practice") We have come to understand deeply in practice that in line the expression of the struggle between the two kinds of

philosophic thinking is a question of what kinds of people should be relied on. Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line that took idealism and metaphysics as the theoretical basis lauded to the skies a small number of bourgeois academic "authorities" who despised the workers and peasants and were divorced from practice. The workers with rich practical experience and a section of revolutionary technicians who were capable of linking themselves with realities had no right to speak, and their enthusiasm and creativeness were seriously fettered. Chairman Mao taught us: "Divorced from practice, it is not possible to have knowledge." ("On Practice") How did those bourgeois academic "authorities" look for water? According to the description of the workers, "they drove around in a car, alighted to take a look, knocked at something with a hammer and promptly made a judgment." How could this work style of the bourgeois lords arrive at a conclusion based on genuine knowledge? A small number of people who looked every inch the slaves of foreigners had no faith in the masses and practice. They only knew to look for a "basis" in traditional geology and for answers from "foreign conventions," and they drew the reactionary conclusion of "poverty-stricken people, poor soil and poor water supply."

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the life-blood of hydro-geological work. Chairman Mao consistently teaches us that we must trust the masses and rely on the masses. "In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'." ("Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership") Speaking in terms of philosophy, the continuous repetition of this process of "from the masses, to the masses" means our firm adherence to the Marxist epistemology. Consequently, the process of guiding our search for water with Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking is the process of our firmly adhering to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and criticizing and repudiating Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and is also a process of fully mobilizing and relying on the masses, of correctly establishing continuously the search of water for the revolution, of transforming the subjective world simultaneously with transforming the objective world, and of bringing man's subjective initiative into full play. In the past few years, the broad masses of revolutionary workers and technicians fostered the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, braved the hot sun and freezing weather, climbed mountains and waded through rivers, waged struggle against nature and the soil, and profoundly changed their spiritual outlook. "Though the mountains are high and the paths are fraught with dangers, I have no fear. I regard the winds and rains as nothing. I am guided by Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking. I am determined to tell the rocks to yield water." These four sentences have fully expressed the heroism and ambition of us hydro-geological workers and revolutionary technicians.

Places "short of water," "dead water" and places "without water" have respectively been transformed into places rich in water, live water and places with water. When drinking the water, we should give a thought to the fountain. The broad masses of geological fighters of our brigade warmly feel that it is Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that has enabled us to find

ground water. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we certainly must follow the example of the "909" geological team of Kiangsi, the vanguard that blaze the trail for building socialist industry, insist on studying further Chairman Mao's philosophic works, further strengthen the revolutionary solidarity of the comrades of the whole brigade, rely on the local poor and lower-middle peasants, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in finding ground water for the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

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Continue to Hold a Firm Grip of Revolutionary Mass Criticism

by

Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group of Anhwei

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

The Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee pointed out: "It is imperative to continue to do a serious job of struggle-criticism-transformation, develop the revolutionary mass criticism penetratingly, eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and carry the revolution through to the end on the political and ideological front, the cultural and educational front, the economic front and in all sectors of superstructure."

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and through the practical struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution, leading cadres at all levels and the broad revolutionary masses have increasingly recognized the vital significance of the development of revolutionary mass criticism to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, the prevention of capitalist restoration, and the building of socialism, and continued to push the revolutionary mass criticism forward. However, there are also some comrades who, faced with victories, have shown conceit and relaxation, thinking that "since the situation is so favorable, it is no longer necessary to spend so much energy on mass criticism" and "mass criticism has virtually been accomplished." They have insufficient understanding of the sustained development of revolutionary mass criticism and lack consciousness.

At the present time, we are in the midst of a new upsurge of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The situation is excellent. Our great leader Chairman Mao taught us long ago: "In the midst of a revolutionary upsurge, the Chinese people, apart from remembering their friends, must also firmly remember their enemies and the friends of their enemies." ("Carry the Revolution Through to the End")

It should be seen that the small handful of class enemies who have sunk into the vast ocean of the masses of the people are still waging a desperate struggle through various intrigues. Some make use of the new problems encountered in our advance to create rumors to deceive the masses and sabotage the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation; some use the old habits of force to stir up clan or factional struggles to undermine the revolutionary unity; some use sugar-coated bullets to woo or corrupt our new and old cadres and the younger generation; some pretend to be revolutionaries and put forward extremely "left" slogans to disrupt the implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We must view all this from the angle of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, continue to hold a firm grip of the revolutionary mass criticism, and deal heavy blows at the sabotage activities of the class enemies. How can we say that the mass

criticism has been virtually accomplished and it is no longer necessary to make any real effort?

Chairman Mao points out: "The remnants of the old ideology which reflect the old system always remain in people's minds for a long time; they will not vanish lightly." (Note to the article "A Serious Lesson") Since the great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated, the broad revolutionary masses have carried out extensive criticism, with remarkable results, against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. However, internationally, imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries and their counter-revolutionary destructive activities still exist. The overthrown exploiting classes and their ideological influences still exist. The class foundation giving rise to Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist stuff still exists. Revisionist and bourgeois ideas will always manifest themselves at different times, through different channels and in different forms, and constitute various erroneous tendencies and ideas impeding people's advance. The practical class struggle requires us to continue to grasp the revolutionary mass criticism, continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. How can we think that the mass criticism has been virtually accomplished, and relax this struggle?

Doing a serious job of struggle-criticism-transformation means a general offensive of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the political, economic, ideological and cultural realms. It touches people's souls. The struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook is extremely acute and deep. If we do not unfold in the recesses of our souls the struggle in which the proletarian world outlook is used to eliminate the bourgeois world outlook, we will come into conflict with the continual deepening of the mass movement of struggle-criticism-transformation and become half revolutionaries or even the villains. Faced with such a severe test, every Party member and revolutionary comrades of ours must all the more consciously respond to Chairman Mao's great call "struggle against self, criticize revisionism," develop the revolutionary mass criticism, take the initiative to open fire on the bourgeois "self" in their minds, and conscientiously remold their world outlook. This is an extremely formidable task. It also shows that mass criticism is still far from being completed.

The excellent situation comes as a result of reliance on Mao Tsetung thought in struggle, and it can be consolidated and developed only in struggle. "Only by destroying the old and decadent things can we build new and healthy things." ("Constitutional Rule of New Democracy") If we relax the struggle between the two classes, two lines and two world outlooks and the revolutionary mass criticism, we cannot consolidate the excellent situation.

Take an example. After the revolutionary committee was formed in a mine, it strongly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the bourgeois factionalism created by the class enemies. An excellent situation came to pass. The highest production record was set since the

mine was established. But the momentary victory caused some comrades to forget the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and relax the revolutionary mass criticism. Not long afterwards, the mine was flooded with bourgeois ideas such as anarchism, the movement could not be sustained, and production became sluggish. Serious setbacks were suffered. After they in time summed up the positive and negative experiences and re-tightened their grip of the mass criticism, the situation quickly turned around. This fact vividly tells us that the more excellent the situation becomes, the greater need to keep a sober head, uphold the viewpoint of class struggle, develop the revolutionary mass criticism in depth, and incessantly launch attack against the class enemies, Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the bourgeois "self" in people's minds. Only then can we firmly hold the initiative of class struggle, consolidate the excellent situation, and develop the victories of the revolution.

The basic reason some comrades hold the "virtually completed" idea is that they have not yet made successful study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in a living way, have not truly established the concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and have not adequately recognized the long-term, complex and devious nature of class struggle. It should be seen that penetrating and sustained development of the revolutionary mass criticism and using the mighty ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought to crush the bourgeois reactionary spiritual forces and take over the ideological bastions is a hundred-year plan for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, a vital strategic task for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a protracted battle. Some comrades who have feelings of relaxation must raise their consciousness in continuing the revolution, heighten their proletarian revolutionary spirit, and positively plunge into the struggle of revolutionary mass criticism.

"We are so busy with production that we have no time for mass criticism," say some comrades.

It is a fact that they are busy with production and work. But this does not in the slightest constitute a "reason" for loosening the revolutionary mass criticism. It is wrong to set production against the development of revolutionary mass criticism. The Communique of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee pointed out: "The popular revolutionary mass criticism is violently sweeping away the pernicious influence of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, has considerably raised the consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on the part of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the broad masses of the people, and heightened the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the broad masses of laboring people, thereby pushing revolution and production forward." This not only generally sums up the colossal achievements of the popular revolutionary mass criticism since the 9th Party Congress but also impressively points out the powerful effects of developing the revolutionary mass criticism on pushing revolution and production ahead.

In carrying forward with socialist construction, we must in the first place give prominence to proletarian politics, penetratingly develop revolutionary mass criticism, and firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. The question of line is one that determines everything. Every achievement gained in socialist construction over the past 21 years is, in the final analysis, attributed to the triumph of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Without destruction, there would be no construction. Only by making a thorough criticism of the "production first," "profit in command" and "material incentive" theories will it be possible to put proletarian politics to the fore, use revolution to command and promote production. Only by making a thorough criticism of "the line of specialists" will it be possible to persist in the mass line, believe in the masses, rely on them, and respect their creative spirit. Only by making a thorough criticism of "san-tzu i-pao" and "four big freedoms" will it be possible to strike at the various capitalist trends and promote the vigorous development of the mass movement for learning from Tachai in agriculture. Only by making a thorough criticism against the "foreign slave philosophy", "the doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace" and the world outlook of the lazy and the coward who rely on heaven and earth and the State will it be possible to carry forward with the revolutionary spirit of regeneration through self-reliance and hard struggle and plain living. Only by making a thorough criticism against "the pursuit of big size and foreign standards" and extravagance and waste will it be possible to implement the principle of increasing production and practicing austerity and building the nation with industry and thrift, concentrate the forces for fighting battles of annihilation, and make maximum utilization of manpower and material resources. In short, only by crushing Liu Shao-ch'i's set of revisionist lines aimed at strangling the socialist initiative and creativeness of the masses and hampering the socialist economic construction will it be possible for socialist construction to develop along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

There was a steel plant where in the past the capitalist roaders followed Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They did not put proletarian politics to the fore. They grasped production for its own sake. No matter how busy they were in the past decade and more, they were unable to catch up with others in production. The masses criticized this plant as "one built in four years, retreated for three years, and crawled for seven years." Since the great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated, guided by Chairman Mao's policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production," they seriously summed up the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines over the last decade and more. They firmly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, eliminated the interference from the "left" or from the Right, and raised the consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines among the masses. As a result, man's mentality underwent a deep change. Iron and steel output rose sharply. Things not done for the last decade and more were accomplished in several months.

The change of this plant amply shows that in economic construction, by penetratingly developing revolutionary mass criticism, upholding Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and insuring the socialist orientation of production, it is possible to give maximum play to man's initiative, turn spiritual forces into material forces, and promote rapid development of production. Those comrades who emphasize that "they are too busy in production to have time for mass criticism" in fact reverse the relationship between revolution and production. If this problem is not solved, they may repeat the mistakes in line, and not only will they fail to catch up with others in production, but they will sink into the capitalist quagmire. Countless historical facts bear witness to this.

There are also some comrades who think that "since what should be criticized has been criticized, there is no more new content of criticism and it cannot be deepened."

Is it really true that "there is no new content"? No. In the wake of the continuous advance of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experiment, new contradictions and new problems are continually produced and new contents are plentiful. If we link revolutionary mass criticism closely with the reality of the three great revolutionary movements and use Mao Tsetung thought as the "arrow" to shoot the "target" of practical struggle, criticism will become lively and concrete and there is always something new and deeper to criticize. On the contrary, if revolutionary mass criticism is divorced from reality, criticism is empty and generalized, and the things criticized are neither essential nor deep.

Further deepening of the three great revolutionary movements always results in further deepening of the struggle between two kinds of ideology and two world outlooks. To study the movement and its development and to grasp the ideological trends, we must insist on using the viewpoint of "one dividing into two" to expose, analyze and solve contradictions so as to make revolutionary mass criticism closely connected with the reality of thinking in people's minds. In this way, it is possible to continue to raise our ideological level and achieve practical results.

There was a shop which in the course of struggle-criticism-transformation criticized the "theory that service has reached its peak," thereby promoting the ideological revolutionization of its staff. On their own initiative they operated three shifts, thus doing business both day and night to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. The new upsurge of socialist revolution and construction created still higher demands on commercial departments. Some people of this shop asked: We are operating 24 hours, can we operate 25 hours? The Party branch promptly grasped this living idea and again criticized "the theory that service has reached its peak." It pointed out that although there was a limit to business hours, there was no limit to serving the people. It further raised the degree of ideological revolutionization of the staff and expanded the scope of operation.

Recently, while learning from Food Shop No. 57 in Soochow, they again grasped the sprouts of some new ideas and continued to criticize deeply the "theory that service has reached its peak." As a result, everyone in the shop thought what the workers, peasants and soldiers thought and shared their anxieties, and delivered goods to the countryside and factories at fixed hours and fixed spots. Thus, taking the "three constantly read articles" as the weapon, they firmly grasped the living ideas, bearing in mind the question of whom to serve. In keeping with the situation, they repeatedly and constantly criticized things without let-up and in increasing depth. Their mentality soared to a higher state and this considerably accelerated the transformation of their world outlook.

Vice Chairman Lin pointed out: "To make revolution, we must also revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot carry out this revolution well." To develop revolutionary mass criticism penetratingly, the leadership at all levels must take the lead in plunging themselves into the fierce struggle of criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the bourgeoisie. They must take the lead in making living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, struggling against self and criticizing revisionism, overcoming the bourgeois idealism and mataphysics in their minds, and conscientiously transforming their world outlook. Where the leadership has done this, the leading group will do well in ideological revolutionization and the mass movement of revolutionary mass criticism will be prosecuted with increasing vigor. For the leadership to take the lead in struggling against self and criticizing revisionism is a prerequisite for deepening the revolutionary mass criticism; and it is also the fundamental requirement for leading the popular revolutionary mass criticism well.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: "The bourgeoisie must be criticized" and "criticism must be launched against revisionism." The leadership at various levels must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought and strengthen in real earnest the leadership over revolutionary mass criticism. Revolutionary mass criticism must be grasped and grasped firmly from beginning to end. We must in a militant posture respond to the call of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee, continue to develop in depth the revolutionary mass criticism on all fronts and in all areas, eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, promote man's ideological revolutionization, and win new and still greater victories.

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Write Analytical Short Articles

by

Kao Hung (高宏)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Talks, speeches, articles and resolutions should all be concise and to the point." ("Method of Work of Party Committees") After the great proletarian cultural revolution, there have emerged many good articles which are expressive, brief and incisive, and welcomed by the broad revolutionary masses. The masses praise these articles thus: "These articles are short and well written. They explain the problems clearly. We can apply them after studying them."

"Articles are the reflection of objective reality." The revolutionary age and the militant life require us to write large numbers of fresh, convincing, analytic and incisive articles in the militant styles of the proletariat, so as to reflect and promote the revolutionary struggle of the people and to carry on the revolutionary mass criticism.

But, some comrades are still fond of writing long articles which are not clear-cut and devoid of substance.

Are these articles of any use to the revolution? Hardly any.

An article of this sort fails to express the real problems in the struggle. The readers learn little from it, so it fails to play its role in propaganda and education.

It wastes the readers' time, impedes the policy of "fewer and better troops and simpler administration," and causes waste of manpower and delay in work.

It leads the people away from going deep into practice and making investigations and promotes idealism and metaphysics.

As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, writing of this kind "not only is unsuitable for expressing the revolutionary spirit but is apt to stifle it." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing")

Why is it that some people are always fond of that kind of writing?

Some hold that a "long article is also good in quality." This is incorrect. The quality of an article is not determined by its length but by its content. Whether an article has good quality is judged by its being "to the point" and by whether it applies Mao Tsetung thought in uncovering the essence of a thing and explaining a real problem. The more things an article explains and the more commonly and incisively it explains a

problem, the more it will help the readers solve the problems of reality and their ideological problems and the better its quality will be. On the contrary, an article generates no power if it is long but is void of an analysis and says nothing convincing.

Some people are worried that "a short article cannot give an all-sided report and cannot explain the problems clearly." For this reason, they talk about a thing from its very beginning and give a detailed account of its development, putting everything about it in the same article. This is not an all-sided report but means lacking in dialectical thinking. In the "6th point" in his brilliant article, "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," Chairman Mao pointed out specially that a short article should also give an all-sided account of a thing. All-sidedness refers to the dialectical analysis of a problem. "By analysis, we mean analyzing the contradictions in things." All-sidedness means giving a clear account of the two aspects of a thing, which are opposite to each other and are in unity. In an article, we should stick to one theme and give a deep-going and thorough-going account and should not put everything in it. In writing about a problem, we also should grasp the principal aspect of a contradiction and simultaneously pay attention to the other aspect; we must not put the principal and the secondary on equal footings, nor should we make the important things subordinate to the unimportant things. If an article is long and keeps repeating the same thing, lacks a central theme and a concrete analysis, it will fail to give an all-sided account and explain a thing clearly.

Some people look down upon short articles, thinking that "writing a short article is an easy job and needs no strenuous effort." They judge a thing by its appearance. We have to do arduous labor and make strenuous efforts in order to go into reality, make investigations, refine our thinking and write an article in which theory is united with reality, viewpoint with data. In particular, it is not an easy job to write an analytical short article in a simple language, giving an accurate, clear-cut and vivid outline of the rich content. Many of the articles on the study of Chairman Mao's works and on the mass criticism and the short comments of various types have been written by the workers, peasants and soldiers after going through the course of "practice, understanding, practice again and understanding again" and have accumulated profound experience through prolonged practice. Short as these articles may be, they are the outcome of living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, give an incisive and vivid account, are convincing and enlightening, and criticize "Liu's poison" to the point. Therefore they carry weight.

The style of writing, in the final analysis, is a problem of world outlook. "The work of an author is a reflection of his mind." One whose thinking is not revolutionized cannot possibly write a good article in the militant style of the proletariat. As for those who aim at gaining personal fame, "regard publication of their articles as the most important thing" and insist on writing articles which have little substance, this is by no means a question of the style of writing. We who write articles for the revolutionary cause and carry out struggle on the ideological front must make strenuous

efforts to study Mao Tsetung thought, establish the idea of completely and wholly serving the people and, in the spirit of utmost responsibility and continuous progress, go deep into the study of reality, vigorously give prominence to the principal viewpoints, elaborately prune our writings, repeatedly improve our reasoning and choice of words, so as to write good articles which can be of real help to the workers, peasants and soldiers and prove useful to them.

We do not mean to oppose every long article as a rule. Articles which are long but with no substance are not good; articles which are short and with no substance are no better. Articles which have clear-cut proletarian thinking and a clear content, are written in vivid language and really answer questions of reality, are desirable and welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers. "What we oppose is long-winded, empty, stereotyped writing, but we do not mean that every article must necessarily be short, otherwise it is no good." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing")

Twenty-eight years ago, Chairman Mao taught us: "To develop the revolutionary spirit it is necessary to discard stereotyped Party writing and instead to adopt the Marxist-Leninist style of writing, which is vigorous, lively, fresh and forceful." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing") We hope revolutionary writers follow Chairman Mao's instructions, learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, and write shorter and better articles.

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Self-Confession of A Running Dog of Imperialism

- Critique of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's big poisonous weed "Saving the Hanyehp'ing Company"

by

Chung Chih (仲 智)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

The Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out: "It is imperative to continue to 'do a serious job of struggle-criticism-transformation,' develop the revolutionary mass criticism penetratingly, eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and carry the revolution through to the end on the political and ideological, cultural and educational and economic fronts as well as in all areas of the superstructure." We must firmly implement this militant call and continue to hold a firm grip of revolutionary mass criticism.

As early as the 1920's the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i was already a running dog of imperialism and had committed a large number of evil deeds. In June 1924, when the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, mounted a violent attack against imperialism, the feudal landlord class and the bureaucratic comprador class, thereby stirring up a tempest of the people's great revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i dished out a big poisonous weed "Saving the Hanyehp'ing Company" (hereunder called "Saving" for short) selling out the interests of the Chinese people. (It was carried in the magazine Hsin Chien-she [New Construction], No. 2, Vol. 2, pp. 83-95, published in Shanghai on September 20, 1924.)

This big poisonous weed was Liu Shao-ch'i's self-confession of capitulation to imperialism.

In "Saving," Liu Shao-ch'i did the best he could to propagate the traitorous "theories," defend colonialism, call for "national salvation through industries," and undermine the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolutionary movements of the Chinese people--in a vain attempt to turn China into a permanent semi-colonial, semi-feudal country enslaved by imperialism. Today, subjecting "Saving" to criticism is of practical significance to further understanding Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary features and increasing our knowledge of imperialism's aggressive nature.

Apologist of Colonialism

In "Saving," Liu Shao-ch'i desperately called on people to "save promptly" a company--the Hanyehp'ing Company--about to be faced with work stoppage and bankruptcy, vigorously spreading the word that Hanyehp'ing was "the basis for developing oriental 'material civilization', capable of

keeping "more than a million people from losing their means of livelihood and being reduced to brigands and bandits." "Therefore, whether Hanyehp'ing exists or not has a bearing on the life or death of the people and the rise or fall of the country." This amply exposed his ugly features of an apologist of colonialism.

What kind of "material civilization" was the Hanyehp'ing developing? What "means of livelihood" had it given the laboring people?

The Hanyang Iron Works and the Tayeh Iron Mine of the Hanyehp'ing Company were established in 1890 by Chang Chih-tung (張之洞), governor of Hunan and Kwangtung during the Ch'ing Dynasty. After they were taken over by the big bureaucratic comprador Sheng Hsuan-huai (盛宣懷), they were merged with P'inghsiang Coal Mine in 1908 into Hanyehp'ing Coal and Iron Limited Company. It was a downright bureaucratic and comprador undertaking. Right after its operation, it was controlled by "foreign engineers" and "managers" of British, German, Belgian imperialism. Later, Japanese imperialism by resorting to various means seized the dominant position of the Hanyehp'ing Company.

The tactics employed by Japanese imperialism in gobbling up the Hanyehp'ing Company were vicious in the extreme. In a secret cable to Setsu Oda, Consul General in Shanghai in 1904, the Japanese Foreign Minister Toshitaro Komura said: "Our policy toward the Tayeh Iron Mine is: On the one hand, to consolidate its relations with our iron producing establishment and put such relations on a permanent basis; on the other, to prevent that iron mine from falling into the hands of the people of other countries. This is a prerequisite for insuring the future development of our iron producing establishment. To this end, the term of the loan should be as long as possible..... A 30-year term must be insisted upon..... Apart from the iron mine itself, its subsidiary railway, buildings and machinery should all be secured as collateral..... At the same time, it is also necessary to require the other side to employ our technicians."

According to this fixed aggressive policy, from 1904 to 1924, Japanese imperialism, using loans and advanced purchases as baits, concluded several dozen contracts of different types with Hanyehp'ing. Some contracts ran as long as 40 years, at an annual interest of as high as eight percent. Each loan negotiated required the sell-out of sovereignty. All the property of Hanyehp'ing Company was mortgaged. Japanese "advisers" held supreme privileges in Hanyehp'ing. "All operations of the Company," "plans for expansion" and "all receipts and outlays," "big and small," had first "to be cleared with the advisers," who "may at any time examine all the assets of the Company" and "other business conditions" and they "may ask questions and register dissent." Ownership of the Hanyehp'ing was lost completely.

By means of these aggressive contracts, Japanese imperialism greedily plundered China's natural resources and sucked the blood and sweat of the people. According to the provisions of the "contract for advanced payments for pig iron and ores" signed in 1913, Japanese imperialism was able to seize 15 million tons of top-grade ores and eight million tons of

pig iron from Hanyehp'ing. And according to then actual production capacity of Hanyehp'ing, all ores and pig iron produced in 40 years would be delivered to Japan, and yet they were still insufficient to pay off its debts. In the period of the First World War alone, by seizing ores and pig iron from Hanyehp'ing, Japan reaped a profit of as much as 230 million yuan--seven times the sum total of "loans" for the same period. What savage aggression and plundering! Can people see clearly here what Liu Shao-ch'i meant by "material civilization"?

The broad masses of workers in Hanyehp'ing, enslaved by imperialism and bureaucratic compradores, led a painful life: hard hit by hunger and cold and without political rights. They lived in worn-out straw sheds that could not protect them against wind and rain. They ate mildewed rice. Their monthly wage amounted to only 3-4 yuan--insufficient to maintain even the minimum standard of life. Every day they had to work from 12 to 14 hours or more, besides suffering from beating and scolding and other forms of torture. It was in such a way that many workers spent their lives. In the end, their homes were completely destroyed as they were deserted by their wives and children.

The imperialists and their running dogs cared only to produce the maximum profits without regard for the life or death of the workers. In August 1917, a gas explosion occurred in the mine, and a big fire ensued. Losing all sense, the capitalists ordered the closing of the entrance of the shaft, with the result that more than 90 workers were burned to death. But the imperialist elements of this Company and their henchmen with insatiable greed obtained large sums of money by extortion and led a dissipated life. A foreign "mining engineer's" salary equalled the wages of 700 workers. The bureaucrat comprador Sheng Hsuan-huai squeezed 5,060,000 yuan out of the blood and sweat of the workers as his stock dividends for nine years alone. This Hanyehp'ing Company was apparently a paradise for the imperialists and their running dogs and a hell for the laboring people. Yet Liu Shao-ch'i nonsensically said that it insured the "means of livelihood for more than a million people," and wanted it to "exist permanently." What else did he want if he did not want to make the Chinese people serve for generations as beasts of burden for imperialism?

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Whoever stands on the side of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism is a counter-revolutionary." ("Closing Speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference") The fact that Liu Shao-ch'i openly defended imperialism and regarded the criminal foothold of imperialism to invade and plunder China as the "basis for developing the oriental 'material civilization'" amply shows him up as a faithful running dogs of imperialism.

That Liu Shao-ch'i said Hanyehp'ing Company had a bearing on the "rise and fall of the country" proves that the country he wanted to "rise" was a "country" ruled by the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, namely, imperialism and its running dogs. He was mortally afraid of the destruction of this "country," and he was extremely resentful of the seizure of power by

the proletariat. The day the proletariat "rises" is the day imperialism and its running dogs "perish." This is the law of "rise and fall" of history.

This set of apologetic phrases concocted by Liu Shao-ch'i for imperialist aggression was nothing new. Old revisionist Bernstein and his like had in 1907 advocated that the colonial policy "may have the effect of spreading civilization." Lenin strongly denounced this reactionary fallacy, and hitting the nail on the head, pointed out that this was "apology for the colonial policy and savage acts." The Chinese people have had enough of such "civilization" advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i and Bernstein. Using this "civilization," American imperialism forced China to sign many unequal treaties, helped Chiang Kai-shek to slaughter several million Chinese people, and is today still occupying our territory Taiwan by force. Using this "civilization," Japanese imperialism had occupied over half of China and engaged in burning, killing, and plundering, with the result that the Chinese people suffered untold hardships. "Peace" for which American imperialism and another superpower are clamoring is also a reprint of this "civilization." In fact, all this is merely synonymous with aggression and oppression. However, the days when imperialism can act like the bully are gone for ever. "We are in a new great era of world revolution." ("Congratulatory Telegram to the Fifth Congress of the Labor Party of Albania") Whether it is the gangster logic of imperialism or apology of running dogs for aggressors, it cannot deceive the revolutionary people, nor can it obstruct the vigorous development of the people's revolutionary movement or save imperialism and its running dogs from their doom!

Trumpeter for National Betrayal

In "Saving," Liu Shao-ch'i did his best to pass around the word that "if China wants to become strong, development of its industries will be the prerequisite."

People cannot help asking: What was the real intention of Liu Shao-ch'i in advocating "national salvation through industries" in the 1920's.

The "theory of national salvation through industries" appeared in China toward the end of the 19th century. At that time, some progressive Chinese made an effort to study the social theories and natural sciences of the West, and dreamed of using these to save China. But they did not succeed. As Chairman Mao, summing up the experiences of revolutionary struggle for the past century in our country in his brilliant work "On People's Democratic Dictatorship", pointed out, "Imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese in learning from the West. How strange it is that the teachers are always committing aggression against their students! The Chinese have learned a great deal from the West, but it doesn't work. The ideals are impossible to realize. Many struggles including such nationwide movement as the 1911 Revolution failed."

Historical experience tells us that the reformist road of "national salvation through industries" is absolutely impractical. "Only socialism can save China." That is to say, it is only by taking the revolutionary

road of seizing power by armed struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, carrying out a new democratic revolution, overthrowing the rule of the reactionary classes, establishing the proletarian dictatorship, adhering firmly to the policy of independence, keeping the initiative in one's hands and regeneration through self-reliance, and continuing to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction that it is possible to really save China.

Big traitor Li Hung-chang (李鴻章) and big usurper of state power Yuan Shih-k'ai (袁世凱) also had raised the signboard of "national salvation through industries" and set up "foreign trade" and "industries," openly engaging in criminal activities of colluding with imperialism in suppressing the Chinese revolution. Li Hung-chang once stated: "If China wants to be strong, it must study foreign weapons." What was meant by "study foreign weapons" was to collude with imperialism, import foreign machinery, "hire foreign engineers" to manufacture guns and cannons to strengthen the reactionary armed forces to maintain the tottering rule of the feudal landlord class. It was exactly under the signboard of setting up "foreign trade" and "industries" that the big traitor Li Hung-chang colluded with imperialism in brutally suppressing the revolutionary movement of the Boxers. History eloquently proves that the process of the bureaucratic landlord class setting up "foreign trade" and "industries" was also a process of accelerating the transformation of China into a semi-colony and colony.

In 1924, when all kinds of "theories of national salvation through industries" had long ago declared bankruptcy and the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism and its running dogs was vigorously developing, Liu Shao-ch'i, stepping into the shoes of traitors Li Hung-chang and Yuan Shih-k'ai, energetically called for "national salvation through industries," and wanted to "save" an enterprise--Hanyehp'ing Company--operated by bureaucratic compradores to extract the Chinese people's blood and sweat on behalf of imperialism, while his real purpose was to carry out his traitorous activities on a huge scale.

Liu Shao-ch'i repeatedly claimed that "saving the Hanyehp'ing" was to make China "strong". Did he really want this to happen? Not at all. He specifically confessed that "saving Hanyehp'ing" was to meet the needs of Japanese imperialism to carry out aggression against China and other countries. Said this running dog of imperialism: Now "this country has not yet reached the period when it can market its iron and steel, but the iron and steel of Hanyehp'ing has to be sold on the world market," and we could reach the world market only "through Japan." "This is because Japan must still at this time use the pig iron of Hanyehp'ing," "and when the Second World War breaks out, Japan will surely be a principal participant in the war, and by that time Japan will have to use large quantities of iron and steel."

The truth was plain that the aim of Liu Shao-ch'i in "developing industries" was not to make China strong but to meet the needs of imperialism and supply iron and steel with which Japanese imperialism could produce guns and cannons to slaughter the Chinese people and to participate in the Second

World War. He could never forget that Hanyehp'ing "prospered and reaped huge profits amounting to several tens of million yuan during the European War," and dreamed of making a fortune from war. As a matter of fact, this period of "great prosperity" was actually one in which imperialism practiced the most savage plundering against Hanyehp'ing.

The use of "loans" by Japanese imperialism to carry out plundering activities in China aroused indignation among the broad masses of the people. They opposed continuedly incurring debts from Japan. (At that time talks were going on in Peking for a "loan" of 8,500,000 yuan, with Japan putting forward even harsher conditions.) Liu Shao-ch'i, pretending to oppose the loan, also said pretentiously: The fact that Hanyehp'ing "has reached such miserable state" "is due to the loans and treaties." But if only we make an analysis of the whole of "Saving," it is not difficult to see that this was but a set of counter-revolutionary tricks he played. He did not mention that "the loans and treaties" involved the sell-out of sovereignty; he said that "the big fault" was that the party concerned did not use the loan to "reorganize the company but squander the money." Therefore, the first of a string of prescriptions which he made for "saving" Hanyehp'ing was to support the bureaucratic compradores in further selling China's sovereignty and dignity and begging from Japanese imperialism "successful loans exclusively for reorganization of the company," so that the debt-ridden Hanyehp'ing would be more dependent on Japanese imperialism. This set of sell-out tricks of Liu Shao-ch'i were the same as the views expressed by the big usurper Yuan Shih-k'ai that "to obtain capital for building all industries, we cannot but look toward our rich neighbors..... Therefore, I wish my country to import foreign capital to build up our industries." Such were downright traitorous "theories."

When discussing ways of saving Hanyehp'ing, Liu Shao-ch'i completely exposed his traitorous features. He thought out many outlets for Hanyehp'ing, yet he said that all these outlets would not succeed. In the end, there would be only one road to follow, and that was to "deliver the Hanyang Plant and Tayeh Mine to Japan" in exchange for the "independent" existence of P'inghsiang Coal Mine. When expressing these naked traitorous views, Liu Shao-ch'i also said with false sorrow: "At a time when 'you cannot save both the mother and the prince,' this may be a painful remedy." Liu Shao-ch'i's "remedy" was no different from the traitorous 21-article treaty signed by the big usurper Yuan Shih-k'ai. His traitorous acts had reached the limit indeed!

Counter-Revolutionary Vanguard

Liu Shao-ch'i produced his "Saving" in the P'inghsiang Coal Mine (namely, the Anyuan Mine) of Hanyehp'ing Company, on the eve of the First Civil Revolutionary War. The Chinese people, under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought, waged an uncompromising struggle against imperialism and feudalism. But in his "Saving" Liu Shao-ch'i was silent about the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and the overthrow of feudalism. Instead, he desperately trumpeted the traitorous "theories," doing the best he could to prettify imperialism and the comprador and the bourgeois class. He

malignantly slandered the working class for "having no public morality," and that was by no means fortuitous. If only we see how he frantically opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engaged in counter-revolutionary sabotage activities in Anyuan, it will not be difficult to find the answer.

Anyuan was the mecca of the Chinese workers' revolutionary movement personally fostered by our great leader Chairman Mao. In the autumn of 1921, Chairman Mao went to Anyuan, where he personally lit the flames of the revolution, thereby opening up a brilliant page of the Chinese workers' movement. In September 1922, Chairman Mao again visited Anyuan, and personally started and led the big strike of Anyuan workers that shocked the whole country. Moreover, a great victory was won in the strike. In September of 1927, it was in Anyuan that Chairman Mao planned and started the world-shocking Autumn Harvest Uprising, and he led the worker-peasant armed forces to march on Chingkanguhan and opened up the only correct revolutionary path of "using the countryside to encircle the cities" and "seizing power by force of arms." The Anyuan workers' movement led by Chairman Mao constituted a glorious page in the history of the Chinese revolution and charted the course for the victory of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people.

Liu Shao-ch'i, using the leading pose which he usurped in the workers' recreation club in Anyuan, madly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, collaborated with the warlords and bureaucratic capitalists, and perpetrated all the evil deeds of selling out the interests of the proletariat.

It was on the eve of the big strike in September 1922 that Liu Shao-ch'i came to Anyuan. The moment he arrived in Anyuan, he desperately opposed the big strike personally started and planned by our great leader Chairman Mao. He said nonsensically that the strike was "a high risk," and tried to obstruct it in all ways possible. The workers of Anyuan, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, overcame Liu Shao-ch'i's obstruction and sabotage and staged the big strike that shocked the whole nation. At this time, Liu Shao-ch'i shamelessly hoisted the black banner of "civilized strike," laying down the rule that workers should "return to their houses and must not make any trouble," and they should be "more civilized than they are in ordinary times." He resorted to all ways and means to repress the workers' revolutionary actions. When the workers, guided by the invincible Mao Tsetung thought, waged a bloody battle with the enemy, Liu Shao-ch'i compromised with and surrendered to the enemy, accepting the three conditions put forward by the enemy. These conditions were: "Protection must be given to the blowers of the shaft boiler room; protection must be given to the electrical machinery and the boiler room of electrical machinery; and order must be maintained in Anyuan." Moreover, he "lectured" the workers, asking them to observe these conditions. But the workers turned a deaf ear to him. They broke through the enemy's guards, took over the boiler rooms, and forced the capitalists to accept their demands. Their strike resulted in victory.

In 1923, the broad masses of workers discerned the plot of the capitalists to use money to buy off a minority of workers, and stirred up a revolutionary storm of general demand for wage increases. At this time, Liu Shao-ch'i offered his ideas to the capitalists and signed with them the counter-revolutionary seven-article "agreement," requiring the workers to "do their best to maintain the output of the mining bureau; on the basis of the present number of workers, an average daily output should exceed 2,300 tons." The workers "are not allowed to assemble at will to create disturbances and make demands and not allowed to strike at random to disrupt work." Next, Liu Shao-ch'i colluded with the capitalists in suppressing the struggle of the workers of the bridge-building department against layoffs. He branded the more than 140 workers who participated in this struggle as "wicked elements," expelled them from the recreation club, and drove them out of the mine.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggle waged by the counter-revolutionary forces against the revolutionary forces is also completely aimed at maintaining their political power." The succession of counter-revolutionary deals made by Liu Shao-ch'i in Anyuan can be summed up on one point: he opposed the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution and opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat. In this way, he could attain the evil purpose of maintaining the rule of the reactionary classes. In order to attain this evil purpose, he pushed a whole set of capitulationist lines. The Recreation Club's "General Charter" prepared by him stipulated: "The aim of this Club is to promote friendship among the members, cultivate their morality, promote mutual assistance, and to seek happiness together." He did his best to promote class harmony, legalism, economism, and by various means restricted the action of the workers within the scope permitted by the reactionaries in a vain attempt to lead the serious political struggle onto the evil road of economism. In August 1923, he produced a big poisonous weed "Criticism of the Past of the Recreation Club and Plan for Its Future." In it, he openly opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat. He yelled: As for the seizure of political power, "it cannot of course be accomplished immediately by such infantile proletariat. Since this is a distant event, we need not discuss it at great length." This was no different from the reactionary fallacy of renegade Ch'en Tu-hsiu (陈独秀), who slandered the Chinese working class by saying that "it does not yet have the needs and possibilities of its own political struggle." This is iron-clad proof of Liu Shao-ch'i's opposition to the proletariat leading the revolution and seizing political power.

From these facts it is not difficult to see that the reason why Liu Shao-ch'i in "Saving" desperately defended colonialism, energetically advocated national betrayal, and shifted the general orientation of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle was that he wanted to preserve the colonial interests of imperialism and the reactionary rule in China of imperialism, the feudal landlord class and the bureaucratic comprador class. By obstructing the revolutionary torrent of the Chinese people against imperialism and feudalism, he vainly attempted to make China permanently a semi-colonial and colonial society.

For more than four decades since he produced the big poisonous weed "Saving," Liu Shao-ch'i continued to perpetrate a succession of heinous crimes. In 1927, with the whole nation aroused by the outbreak of the "April 3" tragedy in which Japanese imperialists massacred the revolutionary masses in Wuhan, Liu Shao-ch'i vigorously counselled against "beating the Japanese," playing the role of bodyguard for the Japanese bandits. After the counter-revolutionary features of the Kuomintang reactionaries were exposed, he sold out the armed forces of the workers and caused the workers of Wuhan to go without arms when they were faced with counter-revolutionary massacre. In 1939, when the War of Resistance against Japan and for National Liberation led by Chairman Mao was vigorously developing, Liu Shao-ch'i delivered his black "Self-Cultivation," vainly trying to ask the communists to "cultivate" themselves into slaves falling to their knees in front of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. After the victory of War of Resistance against Japan, Liu Shao-ch'i, to meet the needs of the US-Chiang reactionaries, produced his so-called capitulationist line of "new stage of peace and democracy" and called for taking the parliamentary road in a futile attempt to basically abolish the people's army, cut short the Chinese revolution, and hand on a silver plate the fruits of victory won by the Chinese people with their blood to the Kuomintang reactionaries, running dogs of US imperialism.

In April 1949, on the eve of the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i, bringing along his wife Wang Kuang-mei, came to Tientsin. There, falling into the arms of the capitalists, he vigorously contended that "exploitation is a merit," saying nonsensically that "this merit is immortal." He frantically opposed the proletarian revolutionary line laid down by Chairman Mao in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee. He opposed reliance on the working class, opposed the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and opposed the cooperativization of agriculture. He energetically advocated "preserving private property" and development of the rich-peasant economy. When the socialist high tide of agriculture set in, he did his best to chop down the agricultural cooperatives with the vain attempt of taking the capitalist road. In 1956, when internationally US imperialism stirred up a high tide of opposition against communism and the people and internally the class struggle became extremely acute, Liu Shao-ch'i openly proclaimed the "theory of the dying out of class struggle," and permitted landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists to launch mad attacks against the proletariat. He plotted to have socialism toppled and capitalism restored. In 1959, at the Party conference in Lushan, Liu Shao-ch'i actively supported the counter-revolutionary revisionist P'eng Te-huai in opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Especially during the period of temporary difficulties facing the national economy from 1960 to 1962, in league with the class enemies at home and abroad, he frantically attacked the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes, advocated "san-tzu i-pao" and stirred up the wind of individual farming. In 1964, in the course of the socialist education campaign, he cooked up a bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in substance to suppress the revolutionary masses, shield the capitalist roaders, and plot to restore

capitalism. Liu Shao-ch'i also madly opposed Chairman Mao's great policy of "independence, keeping the initiative in one's hands, and regeneration through self-reliance." He was against the general line of "going all out, aiming high, and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results." He did his best to propagate the foreign slave philosophy and the doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace. He wanted us to crawl behind the foreigners and vainly attempted to turn China into an appendage of imperialism. Internationally, when US imperialism, social imperialism and reactionaries of various countries created an anti-China big chorus, Liu Shao-ch'i, echoing with Khrushchev, energetically called for "three-capitulations and one elimination" and "three-reconciliation and one reduction" for the evil purpose of capitulating to imperialism, revisionism, and reactionaries and undermining the revolutionary movements of the world people.

Liu Shao-ch'i's deeds amply show to be as a faithful lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, and the chief representative of the forces of capitalist restoration. Counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities carried out by Liu Shao-ch'i again and again were all shattered by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Complete bankruptcy was declared on the attempts of imperialism and modern revisionism to revive capitalism in China. The wheels of history cannot be turned back; they are rolling forward in the direction indicated by Mao Tsetung thought!

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Develop Production in Depth and Breadth

- report on an investigation of multiple utilization conducted in Chiangmen Sugar-Cane Industrial Chemicals Plant, Kwangtung

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

Resume: This investigation report sums up the experience in arousing the masses to conduct multiple utilization in a big way. It shows that multiple utilization has extremely wide prospects and is essential to going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

Following Chairman Mao's great strategic policy "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people" and his teaching "Strictly practice economy," the Chiangmen Sugar-Cane Industrial Chemicals Plant, putting Mao Tsetung thought in command and relentlessly criticizing renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, has succeeded in extensively arousing the masses to conduct multiple utilization and "march toward all localities and departments which can bring their forces into play and toward production in depth and width." A revolutionary atmosphere of surging vigor and increasing prosperity is pervading the whole plant. In the past two years and more, the number of varieties of products of multiple utilization by this plant has increased to 30 as against only five according to the original plan; the value of the products of multiple utilization has almost doubled that of sugar which is the chief product of this plant; the comparable production cost has dropped by 24 percent. This means a big amount of capital has been accumulated for the state and vigorous support given for the socialist construction.

There Is Plenty of Room for Multiple Utilization

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Socialism liberates not only the laborers and the means of production from the old society, but also the vast nature which the old society could not utilize." (Note to an article, "Surplus Labor Finds a Way Out") The practice of large-scale multiple utilization by Chiangmen Sugar-Cane Industrial Chemicals Plant testifies once again to the great truth of this directive given by Chairman Mao.

Thanks to multiple utilization, the "waste materials" of the past have now become a treasure. Formerly, the plant used to spend hundreds of thousands of yuan every year to carry the cinders, residue earth and slag out of the plant and to dump them into the sea. Now they are the raw material for making cinder bricks, cement, carbon steel and cast iron. Since last year, utilization of these cinders, residue earth and slag has created a wealth of several hundred thousand yuan for the state.

As a result of multiple utilization, the potentials of material resources have been fully tapped and one thing can be used for many purposes. Sugar-cane, the principal raw material of this plant, is used in making edible sugar and its "bagasse" and "waste solution" can be used to make more than ten kinds of products of light industry and chemical industry. For instance, bagasse can be used to make paper pulp, glossy paper, packing paper and furfural, the "waste solution" left from the pulp can be used to produce mucilage, the "waste syrup" can be used to make alcohol, yeast, "702" insecticide, etc.

By dint of large-scale multiple utilization, the potentials of the equipment have been fully tapped and one machine can be used to do many jobs instead of being used for one particular purpose as in the past. For example, the pulp-making equipment can be used in making paper pulp and making artificial-fiber pulp; the sugar-making equipment is used to press sugar-cane during the sugar production season, and the lime-kiln and the cleaning equipment are used to produce mild calcium carbonate when the season of sugar-production has passed; the boiling and refining equipment is used in producing micro-crystalline fiberin and the "702" insecticide. In this way, the sugar-making workshop is in operation throughout the year; its production does not suspend even though sugar-cane pressing may temporarily stop.

The large-scale multiple utilization brings the subjective initiative of man into full play. Being versed in one, a worker can do other jobs as well. For example, in a season of sugar-cane pressing, the workers engage themselves in making sugar; at other times, they are engaged in the production of mild calcium carbonate and make lime and charcoal. The brewers know how to make alcohol and yeast; they also know how to make dry ice and the "702" insecticide. The mechanics not only make and repair equipment, but also are capable of making coke and refining steel and iron. This makes it possible not only to solve the problem of most of the manpower for multiple utilization, but also to raise productivity of labor in a big degree. In 1969, the productivity of full-time labor doubled as against the early period after the establishment of this plant. What is more important, the large-scale multiple utilization help bring up, with greater, faster, better and more economical results, a group of "versatile workers" who have the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle.

Now the whole plant not only has completely changed the former practice of letting the sugar refinery carry out production in half of a year and lie idle in the other half, but also has broken the barrier between two trades. It has turned to be a comprehensive factory which is capable of turning out such light industrial products as sugar, paper and artificial fiber pulp, together with steel, iron, industrial chemicals, medicine, building materials and poly-crystalline silicon.

Practice shows: Large-scale multiple utilization is a solid action to carry out Chairman Mao's great strategic directive "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," an effective measure for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and an important way of developing new resources of raw materials and carrying out the policy of increasing production and practicing economy.

Smash the "Theory of Departing from One's Own Line" and Conduct Multiple Utilization for the Revolutionary Cause

Chiangmen Sugar-Cane Industrial Chemicals Plant is a modernized factory completed and put into operation in early 1959. In the past decade and more, it has gone through a violent struggle between the two ideologies and the two lines in the problem of whether or not effort should be made to conduct multiple utilization and how to conduct multiple utilization.

When the plant was established, the broad masses of workers and cadres of this plant, under the guidance of the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" charted by Chairman Mao, unfolded scientific experiments of multiple utilization and used the cinders, residue earth and slag to make a batch of products. However, poisoned by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, some people held that "conducting multiple utilization meant departing from one's own line." Others even regarded cinders, slag and residue earth as a "load" and asked for 700,000 yuan and several hundred thousand tons of rolled steel from the state for making three freighters and two tug-boats for dumping these cinders, residue earth and slag into the sea. Influenced by the erroneous idea of "departing from one's own line," cement production was conducted by fits and starts; the cement workshop went into operation when cement was needed, otherwise it lay idle. With regard to other items of production, some were neglected and others directed in a wrong way and soon afterwards suspended.

After its establishment in autumn 1968, the revolutionary committee of this plant led the workers and cadres of the whole plant to study once again Chairman Mao's relevant teachings. They realized that active conducting of multiple utilization was geared to the realization of combat preparedness and to the policy of increasing production and strictly practicing economy, is required in achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and is aimed at striking imperialism, revisionism and reaction and aiding the world revolution. They took the multiple utilization as their "own line" in the revolution. The workers said: "Multiple utilization is by no means a 'sideline' which is optional but is a revolutionary 'regular line' which must be followed without fail." They were of this opinion: Should we fully utilize the material resources and equipment of our plant to create a greater wealth for our state, or confine our scope to our immediate conveniences, neglect the long-range results, regard various kinds of "waste materials" as a "load" and throw them away once and for all? This is in essence a major problem concerning what flag we hoist, what road we follow and what line we carry out.

After leading the masses to sharply criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and such trash as "putting profits in command," the plant's revolutionary committee made them reckon the political account and economic account of large-scale multiple utilization. For example, if this plant's slag was to be used totally in refining steel and iron, this meant an increase of several thousand tons of steel and iron for the state. This would meet the plant's needs for servicing the equipment and further developing production. This also could be an aid to fraternal factories. On the

contrary, if the slag was to be dumped as refuse, tens of thousands of yuan would be needed each year to transport it. After reckoning this account, the broad masses understood that, judging from the overall point of view of the revolution, large-scale multiple utilization was of vital importance politically and economically.

After study and reckoning, the workers and cadres of the whole plant destroyed the "theory of departing from one's own line" and greatly raised their consciousness of conducting multiple utilization. They put forward the slogan of "extract precious thing from 'waste materials' and making use of cinders, residue earth and slag" and quickly stepped up an earth-shaking mass movement of multiple utilization. Various workshops put forward new targets of multiple utilization in light of the reality in their units. After extensively mobilizing the masses and on the basis of democratic discussion, they practiced unified planning and management at separate levels; the key items were handled by the whole plant by concentrating forces to fight a battle of annihilation, and the ordinary items were handled individually by the workshops, thereby guaranteeing prompt action taken on the important items dealing with iron and steel, furfural and artificial fiber. Workers of the sugar-refining workshop learned that the mild calcium carbonate was used in making the paper for printing Chairman Mao's works and the making of this substance was important in the propaganda of Mao Tsetung thought. In the spirit of revolution, in addition to an allout effort to work arduously and ingeniously, they fought night and day to adjust and rebuild the equipment. In only 20 days, they succeeded in making this product. This shows fully the workers have infinite creative power when they are armed with Mao Tsetung thought.

Crush the Idea of "Seeking Things Ostentatious and Modern," Persist in the Policy of Combining Indigenous and Foreign Methods

Should we seek things ostentatious and modern, or adopt indigenous methods and combine the indigenous with the foreign? This is another outstanding problem in the struggle between the two ideologies and between the two lines in the course of multiple utilization.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, some people sought things ostentatious and modern and said emphatically that multiple utilization must be conducted in a "presentable way." They held that "an indigenous enterprise formed by grouping didferent things together" was incompatible with the appearance of a modern big factory. At the moment, the workers demanded expansion of cement production. They sent to the headquarters of the plant a plan, which was a combination of the indigenous method and the foreign method. The responsible person of the plant not only did not support them, but also organized some other people to draw another plan of a big and modernized project, which required a big investment and a great deal of equipment. It was difficult to meet this requirement, so that this project long remained only on paper. The workers criticized this erroneous idea of seeking things ostentatious and modern and attaching greater importance to foreign things than to indigenous things and criticized the bourgeois style of waste and extravagance. They firmly proceeded from reality and implemented the policy of adopting indigenous methods and combining the indigenous and foreign

methods. Working with their own hands and bringing with them iron spades and picks and carts, they went everywhere to look for fire-resistant bricks and earthen bricks, cast-off and used steel and iron wares and tubes. The revolutionary committee of the plant vigorously supported this revolutionary action of the workers. After almost 100 days' arduous fighting, the workers expanded the cement workshop by the indigenous and foreign methods. This incident vividly showed that the style of seeking things ostentatious and foreign would invariably bring about poor results and the combination of indigenous and foreign methods would bring about greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Historical experience merits attention. A line and a viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." Some time ago, when an experiment was conducted to use reeds in making artificial fiber pulp, some people showed the idea of seeking things ostentatious and modern. They suggested building a new five-storeyed house, making a pool 5 ch'e deep for storing the pulp, and installing another 14 sets of mechanical equipment. According to this plan, an investment of 700,000 yuan and 70 tons of rolled steel were needed and it took half of a year to complete this project. When this plan was assigned to the masses for discussion, the workers sharply criticized it as "putting on new shoes and walking on the old road." They put forward another plan in light of their practical experience: No factory building and no pulp-storing pool were to be built, the potentials of the equipment in use were to be tapped, and not a set of new equipment was to be bought. This plan brought the potentials of the existing factory building and equipment into full play, saving the investment by 50 percent and materials by 40 percent. Moreover, production started one month ahead of schedule.

Practice shows: There is no construction without destruction. Only by giving the masses free reins and criticizing the erroneous ideas of seeking things ostentatious and modern will it be possible to materialize the correct policy of adopting indigenous methods and combining indigenous methods with foreign methods and will it be possible for multiple utilization to advance triumphantly in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Working with Our Own Hands, Not Stretching Out Our Hands for Aid

In conducting multiple utilization, should we work with our own hands or stretch out our hands for aid? This question reflects the struggle between the two ideologies and between the two lines.

In the past, when multiple utilization was suggested, people hurriedly made reports, asking for investment, materials and equipment from the higher level. They sent in applications, waited, and their applications were turned down. After its establishment, the revolutionary committee of this plant organized the workers to unfold revolutionary mass criticism in light of the experience of this plant in its failure to conduct multiple utilization. They linked this criticism with the higher level and the grassroots level, eliminated "Liu's poison," overcame the lazy bone's idea of asking for aid in doing anything, and established the noble ambition of striving for prosperity through self-reliance.

When they decided to turn out products of an important new variety, some said: "One locality needed an investment of several million yuan and took two to three years to turn out this new product." Others said: "In doing the same thing, we need at least several hundred thousand yuan, if not several millions. It won't do if we don't have a few dozen tons of rolled steel!" But, the workers armed with Mao Tsetung thought said unanimously: "We shall go forward if conditions permit. If conditions are lacking, we shall create them!" They worked with united efforts and fought arduously. Eventually, this new variety was produced successfully after spending less than 20,000 yuan and in only 70 days. The workers learned an impressive lesson, saying: "We succeed if we work with our own hands. We fail if we stretch out our hands for aid. This is absolutely true."

In order to put the policy of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle" into effect in every concrete item, this plant suggested three points in conducting multiple utilization:

(1) Raw materials should come from the resources of this plant, chiefly by making use of the cinders, residue earth and slag and other waste materials of this plant.

(2) The factory building, equipment and materials needed in conducting multiple utilization should be obtained in accordance with the existing conditions of the plant. For example, the workshop for producing polycrystalline silicon was a renovation of the toilet room and rest room in the sugar-making workshop.

(3) The items of multiple utilization and processing of parts of the equipment should be done by own efforts. For example, the 3-cubic-meter blast furnace, the half-ton electric furnace for refining steel and the steel mill were built by own efforts. The making of artificial fiber pulp and starch alcohol was conducted and the necessary equipment installed by several workshops with joint efforts.

Adhering to these points, we can do more work with less money, at a higher speed and with greater results. For example, in making the "702" insecticide, because the brewing and sugar-making equipment was fully utilized, only four days were needed to build up the workshop and to start production of this insecticide. The insecticide produced was sufficient for use in more than 25,000,000 mow of farmland, giving an impetus to the increase of output of farm crops. It was warmly commended by the departments concerned and by the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants.

Persevere in Practical Results, Prevent the Style of "Touch and Go"

Should we seek vain glory or should we work for practical results? Should we attempt a thing superficially and give up, or grasp it through to the end? This is another expression of the struggle between the two ideologies and between the two lines in the course of multiple utilization.

In the past, as a result of the poison by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "management of factory by expert," the technical power of this plant was in the hands of a few technicians. They

made experiments behind closed doors and ignored the broad masses of workers, so that theory was alinated from practice and experiment from production. Some technicians had not been remolded ideologically and did not really establish the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people. When their experiment succeeded, they put it aside and no longer paid attention to it.

Now, the workers have taken hold of the technical power, and three-in-one groups with old workers as the mainstay and with revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technicians taking part in it have been setup at various levels from the headquarters of the plant to the workshop. They join efforts in realizing the items of multiple utilization, blazing the trail and creating experience. Scientific experiment is closely integrated with production. This makes it possible to put into operation each item of multiple utilization which has been proved successful and to consolidate and develop each item which has been put into operation.

To persevere in multiple utilization, this plant also pays attention to strengthening its leadership, draws an overall plan in the principle of multiple undertakings with emphasis on one line of trade, and arranges and develops multiple utilization on the basis of fulfillment of the state's production plan, so that the principal line of trade and the various sidelines may promote each other. While the material resources of this plant are being used, attention is paid to the needs of other units, so as to constitute a mass coordination and to insure the fraternal units of the supply of raw materials.

While conducting multiple utilization, they pay attention to bringing the workers' spirit of master of the house into full play and realistically strengthen business accounting of the products of multiple utilization. From the headquarters to the workshops of the plant, three-in-one groups with workers as the mainstay and with revolutionary cadres and business and technical management personnel taking part in them are set up universally to supervise the business. Under the leadership of the plant's revolutionary committee, these groups take charge of strengthening of business management regarding the products of multiple utilization. As a result, various kinds of products of multiple utilization improve continuously in quantity and in quality and the consumption of raw materials and production cost drop continuously. Attention is paid to safety in production and prevention of accidents. In this way, multiple utilization is conducted in an earth-shaking manner and in a down-to-earth manner.

Practice of large-scale multiple utilization conducted by Chiangmen Sugar-Cane Industrial Chemicals Plant testifies fully to the fact that: Only socialist revolution, particularly the great proletarian cultural revolution, can break through the obstacles which fetter the enthusiasm of the masses of the people, push the broad masses to the vast fields of the struggle against Nature and make them masters of multiple utilization and of the great Nature. Here, the problem of the line is something fundamental. Only by conscientiously carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, trusting the masses and relying on them and respecting their initiative and spirit, shall we be able to translate the wide prospects opened up by the socialist revolution into a real action of the masses of the people, to get organized and march toward all places and departments which can bring all their forces into play and toward production in depth and in width, and to create a greater wealth for the state.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and improving." The broad masses of the workers, the cadres and the PLA's support-the-Left personnel of this plant are of this opinion: In the vast fields of multiple utilization, there are many things to do and the work we are doing is only a beginning. They firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoints in clearing away various kinds of ideological obstacles in the road of sustained revolution, take their achievements as a new starting point, continue to conduct multiple utilization, go further to turn the cast-off materials into a treasure and make every possible use of all things, and win fresh merits for the people.

- Joint Investigation Group of Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Ministry of Light Industry

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Rely on the Working Class to Institute Rational Regulations and Systems

- an investigation report on how the Crane Workshop of the Shenyang Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant reforms its irrational regulations and system.

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 12, Nov. 17, 1970)

With the assistance of the plant's revolutionary committee and the support-the-Left personnel of the People's Liberation Army, the Crane Workshop of the Shenyang Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant has since May 1969 began to reform its irrational regulations and systems and has now initially built up its rational, socialist regulations and systems. The reform has been undertaken in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching--"setting up a three-in-one revolutionary committee, carrying out mass criticism, cleaning up the class ranks, consolidating the Party, simplifying the structure, reforming irrational regulations and systems, sending the administrative personnel down to the grassroots level, conducting struggle-criticism-transformation within the plant--such are more or less the stages to go through,"--and on the foundation of Party consolidation and Party building, as well as along the line of the "Charter of the Anshan Steel and Iron Company."

Mainly charged with the duty of repairing the railway tracks and cranes, the workshop has a staff of 270. Over the past year or more, led by the Party branch of the workshop, the workers here directed their attention to their thinking, production, accounting, and livelihood, stepping up the enterprises' management, politically, ideologically and economically, and increasing its all-round dictatorship toward the bourgeois class. Last year, this workshop was named a four-good unit, with its representatives attending the provincial and municipal conferences of Mao Tsetung thought study activists and 54 of its workers honored as the five-good workers. While its output doubled, its production cost dropped by one-half and its quality of repairs improved considerably, requiring only one test in most cases, instead of 3 or 4, or even 7 or 8 tests. The workers said proudly, "Now that we workers are the masters, with power in our own hands, we are full of inexhaustible energy."

Socialist Regulations and Systems for the Consolidation of Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Reform of the irrational regulations and systems in this workshop underwent an acute struggle between the two classes, two lines and two kinds of thought. The majority of its cadres and masses were active, enthusiastic and bold about the new topic of struggle-criticism-transformation, but part of them had misconceptions. Some workshop cadres even had serious misgivings. They said: without regulations and systems, nobody would listen to you, there could be no control over production, and the leadership would have no authority; if you demand regulations and systems, you would commit the errors of "profit in command", "production in first place" and "to control, restrict, and suppress." Some young workers said, "How free you feel without the regulations and why should you have them?" A handful of class enemies seized

the opportunity to stir up evil flames and said, "Struggle-criticism-transformation is a good opportunity when we can talk more about amenities," in a vain attempt to lead the great struggle of reforming irrational regulations astray.

In the light of this situation, the Party branch and the revolutionary leading group of the workshop repeatedly organized study classes on the implementation of the "Charter of the Anshan Steel Company". Through class education and education on the two lines by recalling past bitterness and thinking of present happiness, the tendency of bourgeois thinking--liberalism, arnarchism and economism--was overcome and unified understanding acquired by all.

The study class centered around the following work:

1. Recall-bitterness education was conducted to arouse the proletarian feeling of the working masses and to make all realize that the capitalist regulations are the tools with which to maintain dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The veteran workers were organized to accuse the old society. They said: at the time the factory followed the practice of searching your body when you leave the factory after work, and it was just like passing through the devil's pass, as no matter how cold the weather you invariably had to unbutton your clothes and take off your hats in order to be searched.

2. Mass criticism was launched to raise workers' consciousness for struggle between the two lines and to make them see clearly that the revisionist regulations only serve the restoration of capitalism. In pre-Cultural Revolution days, the capitalist roaders of this factory drew up a set of regulations of 700,000 words long, imposing innumerable restrictions on the workers. They also went in a big way for material incentives, with more than one hundred kinds of award, including an award of several cents for every screw saved, which had seriously corroded the soul of the workers and destroyed their unity. They said: control, restriction, suppression and penalty were an "iron whip" with which the capitalist roaders dealt with the workers, whereas "material incentives" is a "gold whip" with which they duped the workers, but the two whips were for one common purpose: that is to lead us astray to the road of capitalism.

3. The menace of unhealthy regulations was pointed out, so as to understand that the socialist regulations serve to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the irrational regulations were reformed in this workshop, some rational regulations were abolished whereas some irrational regulations, though ostensibly "removed", actually remained effective, with the result that since new regulations were yet to be established and perfected, confusion reigned in enterprise management. For instance, the economic accounting system, a system not to be eliminated, was done away with, as a result of which there emerged the situation where "work is undertaken and money spent unplanned or under a rough estimate." Since the regulations were not perfected, waste and loss incurred. A handful of class enemies seized the opportunity to steal, graft, make trouble, and sabotage production.

Facts show that as long as the socialist regulations and systems are not perfected, there is no possibility to arouse the activism and creativeness of the working masses, to cope with the new situation of the revolution and the speedy development of production, to make firm the socialist economic foundation, and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers say: Class struggle cannot be relaxed, the state of anarchism and confusion is not permissible, and the socialist regulations and systems are indispensable.

By recalling the past, by criticism and comparison, the workers were led to draw a clear line between the socialist economic accounting system and the capitalist idea of putting profit in command, between the development of socialist production and the practice of "putting production in the first place" estranged from politics, between the proletarian revolutionary discipline and the bourgeois way of exercising control restriction and pressure. In this way, the cadres and the masses were able to see more clearly that the regulations and systems are the tools with which one class enforces dictatorship toward another. We the proletariat must seize these tools, control ourselves, manage our socialist enterprises well, and exercise complete dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Said the veteran workers: under the capitalist regulations and systems, we workers were slaves. Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist regulations and systems turned us into live tools. What we want to build is socialist regulations and systems where the working class are masters of their own. Their understanding raised, they expressed their determination to fight well this battle of reforming the irrational regulations and systems and score a new victory in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Working Class Are the Masters of Socialist Enterprises

What kind of regulations and systems do socialist enterprises need? At first some leading cadres of the workshops believe there must be a system where "the leadership has authority and the masses are to obey." Others consider "the system must provide workers some 'benefit'" but after revolutionary mass criticism they came to realize that to institute a system to "control workers" is a just a copy of the theory "experts to run factory" and the system to provide workers "some benefit" is a remnant poison of "material incentives". They said that our authority is given by the working class and we absolutely cannot take over from the capitalist roaders their "two ships" with which to deal with workers. We should have a system where proletarian politics is put to the fore, the working class are the masters, and the "Charter of the Anshan Steel Company" is put into full practice.

Guided by this thinking and proceeding from the "one dividing into two" viewpoint, the leading cadres made a class and scientific analysis of the original regulations and systems, and saw that some of them are rational, mainly because part of them conform with the needs and stipulations of the law of production; those which are irrational are mainly because they do not bring proletarian politics to the fore, do not rely on the working class, and put workers in the position of the controlled. Therefore, the most important

thing in reforming the irrational regulations and systems lies in solving the question of class lines. It is essential both to retain the rational stipulations and requirements and to organize production in a scientific way and to liquidate the remnant influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, so the working class may truly become masters running the socialist enterprises.

The socialist regulations and systems must be formulated through reliance upon the workers who have rich experience in class struggle and the struggle of production and who are clear about what should be broken down, what should be retained and what should be instituted.

So the leading cadres of workshop launched a big mass campaign to air the masses' views, as a result of which 636 views on the reforming of the regulations and systems were gathered. Then these views were grouped under special topics and handed back to the masses for discussion, reforms were effected upon criticism, were put into practice repeatedly and revised again and again. The wisdom of the masses was widely gathered and under the unified leadership of the Party, the leading group was successfully revolutionized, the Liberation Army's four-good movement well launched, and ideological work and other such political work regularly conducted. "Rules for the Management of the Crane Workshop" and "Regulations for the Repair of Cranes in the Workshop" were drawn up. Formulated were measures covering six aspects such as production plans, the system of the leadership keeping in contact with the workers, the workers to hold discussions, unified command, coordination between teams, the masses drawing their own system of management.

In respect of quality inspections, an integrated system of individual inspection, mutual inspection, and inspection by those specially in charge was instituted. In the industrial field, a new system of technical innovation was adopted where the leading cadres, the workers and the technical personnel were to decide on work projects together, do the planning together, carry out experiments together and start work together. In respect of economic accounting, the system of two-level accounting comprising the workshop and work team, with the latter as the foundation, was devised.

In the past, the accounting work was all centralized in the workshop, relying on six persons in charge who sat in the office to press for statements, busy at abacus, and books. What they did was simple economic accounting, seeing no political factors in man. They could not reflect the actual conditions of production and the potentials of production, nor could they see the reason why the production cost became higher than estimated, with the result that the long-term loss could never be diverted.

Now, there is one accountant in the workshop specially in charge of its books, and in each work group or team there is a bookkeeper who is not estranged from production. The workers take part in the accounting; they keep figures and then work; they are both accountants and workers. Each month the workshop publish its records and results of accounting, regularly calling meetings at which the workers take part in analyzing the accounts, seeing politics through economic problems, seeing political lines through conditions of production, seeing the way of thinking through statements of

accounts. Measures are drawn as the situation demands, the way of thinking is checked, the loophole is detected. This new method of economic accounting has turned the past inflexible way of accounting into the present flexible way of accounting; a political-oriented accounting system contributing much toward the revolution. It increases the zeal of the masses for increased production and economy, continuously unearths the production potentials, and brings out the role of economic accounting in stepping up enterprise management and unleasing the productive forces. At present, the working hours for each machine in the workshop has dropped by 42 percent, the cost of material 34 percent, and the cost of management 64 percent, and the cost of repair steadily decreased.

The workshop has now introduced under the leadership of the Party branch, a two-level (workshop revolutionary leading team and work group committee) management system of three-in-one combination (leading cadres, workers, technical personnel). In the past, under the "one-chief system" and "experts to run factories" followed by the bourgeoisie, the workshop Party branch could only exert a role of insurance and the workshop management depended only on "one chief" (chief of workshop) and "four units" (inspection, technical, production and management units). Now, each group has a group leader (who is concurrently chief of Party cell), a deputy group leader and a workers' representative as the nucleus, with, in addition, six "supervisors chosen from among the masses to assume charge of various kinds of work, making up a group committee to give the group's revolution and production overall leadership. The supervisors are elected by each group in a democratic way, to be approved by the Party branch. They are to be re-elected periodically as four-good record is assessed. The six supervisors each sets up in his group (total of ten groups in the workshop, comprising 60 persons) a "mass management network" which has workers as the mainstay, with the technical personnel also participating. Under the leadership of the Party branch, the supervisors do not detach themselves from their groups, from the masses, from productive labor, but are charged with the responsibility of the workshop's production management and livelihood. The "mass management network" both gives supervision and exercises its functions.

The new management system and management structure bring into realization the principle of "two participations, one reform, and three-in-one combination." It also puts into practice the revolutionary line of "wholeheartedly rely on the working class" and reflects the new-type relationships between man and man in socialist enterprises. The workers are both producers and supervisors; the cadres are both leaders and ordinary laborers; the technical personnel are both business management "advisors" and are primary-school students for re-education by the workers.

The new regulations and systems bear the following characteristics:

1. Under the leadership of the Party branch, the workers will not only participate in drawing up regulations and systems and can supervise the leaders but also can directly take part in enterprise management and change the pre-Cultural Revolution situation where the working class was not relied upon for enterprise management.

2. The education in the struggle between the two lines is brought to the fore. The "mass supervision network" does not confine its scope to supervision of production but also pays attention to the lines and orientation. Meetings are regularly held, versus problems that crop up in the course of production, to analyze whether the line followed is correct, to conduct revolutionary mass criticism, and to constantly raise the consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

3. The cadres take part in labor. In the past there were as many as 35 cadres in the workshop, who detached themselves from production. Now the overwhelming majority of cadres go down to labor in the work group, receive re-education, and play their part as the hardcore during labor. Of the seven cadres in the workshop, the secretary and deputy secretary of the Party branch takes part in labor by rotation each month, while the five enterprise management personnel all go down to the grassroots work group to lead production on the first line and thus build up the work groups.

4. "Area leadership" is the main thing. The past system of "dictatorship over every line" has been broken down. The Party branch now assumes power, with duties detailed to individuals, decisions taken by the Party branch, work executed by the work group, so as to fight a coordinated battle.

Revolutionary Regulations and Systems to Rely on Revolutionized People for Implementation

The new regulations and systems are to bring to the fore proletarian politics. However, as they are put into full implementation, there often exists the conflict whether politics or business is to be brought to the fore. Some cadres in the workshop keep themselves busy all day long pressing the "mass supervision network" to step up its activities and preparing charts and reports. The result is that the new regulations and systems are not put into full practice. Criticizing, the workers said: "You may make a thousand changes but you can't get anywhere until man's thinking is changed. You may grasp a thousand things but it all amounts to nothing if revolutionization is not grasped." The Party branch organizedits cadres and work group cadres in study classes to study repeatedly Chairman Mao's teaching "politics is the commander and the soul" and "political work is the lifeline of all economic work." After that everybody came to realize that the revolutionary regulations and systems must rely on the revolutionized people to carry out; if man's thinking is not revolutionized, even the best regulations and systems will not bring any effect. Of all things, the first is to use Mao Tsetung thought to educate people.

So, in implementing the new regulations and systems, revolutionization of thinking is put in the first place and three links are tightly grasped: 1) to carry out the system of regularly conducting ideological and political work. "Reading every day" is strictly followed, study class is held each time a problem is met, and talk-and-use meeting is regularly called. Implementation of the regulations and systems and good management of socialist enterprises are taken as the content of the four-good assessment. 2) A group of hardcore

cadres is trained for mass politico-ideological work. The revolutionary masses all join the ranks of "red sentry", assuming charge in turn to organize political activities and assess good deeds and good people. In the whole workshop there are over 70 worker-assessors, making timely criticism of questions regarding the general trend. Good result is obtained as good people and good deeds are praised by everybody, and bad deeds and bad people are criticized by all; erroneous trends are subjected to criticism, so the masses are enabled to educate themselves. 3) A revolutionized leading group is designated to keep in contact with the masses. With the three links grasped, the ideological and political work has become one of the masses, is regularized and systematized, and under all circumstances can exert its commanding role over the regulations and systems.

Implementation of the new regulations and systems promotes the revolutionization of man's thinking. When carrying out the new working hour quota, the workers fill in their record of actual labor hours. As they do so, they contrast it with what they contribute to the revolution and with the degree their thinking is revolutionized; they actively fulfill and try to overfulfill the quota, and on their own initiative ask to revise the quota. The new quota for the loading group is now 517 working hours per car, a saving of 56 hours compared with the old practice. Recently, it has again asked to reduce the work hours for loading to 425. The workers said, "To make revolution one must dare to add weight on to one's own shoulders. The higher the mountains, the better it is for climbing; the longer the road, the more worth walking it is; the heavier the burden of revolution, the more challenging it is for carrying."

The new regulations and systems instituted by this workshop are being examined and improved upon in the course of practice. In the shop's administrative leading organ, apart from the revolutionary leading team, it is still under study whether other systems are to be continued and retained. Also some questions affecting the whole plant are to be sold. At present, with the "six factories and two schools" of Peking as the example, the workshop is looking seriously for gaps to cover in their continuous march forward.

The Joint Investigation Team of Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee; Shenyang Municipal Revolutionary Committee; and an Army Command Stationed in Shenyang

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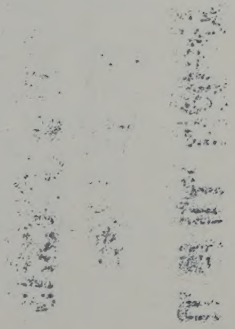

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CHICAGO IL 60680